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Hagenius

THE HISTORY O F That Great and Renowned MONARCHY O F CHINA.

Wherein all the particular Provinces are accurately described: as also the Dispositions, Manners, Learning, Lawes, Militia, Government, and Religion of the People.

Together with the Traffick and Commodities of that Country.

Gommedo

Lately written in *Italian* by F. ALVAREZ SEMEDO, a Portugheſe, after he had resided twenty two yeares at the Court, and other Famous Cities of that Kingdom.

Now put into *English* by a Person of quality, and illustrated with several MAPS and FIGURES, to satisfie the curious, and advance the Trade of Great BRITTAINE.

To which is added the History of the late Invasion, and Conquest of that flourishing Kingdom
by the TARTARS.

With an exact Account of the other affairs of CHINA, till these present Times.

London,
Printed by E. Tyler for John Crook, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Sign of the Ship in S. Pauls Church-yard, 1655.

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The Epistle to the Reader.

Courteous Reader,



Present thee with that long expected, most exact History of the Lawes, Government, Manners, and present state and condition of that great Monarchy of China; in its circuit little less then all Europe; Heretofore (as zealous of its rare treasures) shut and locked up from the curios eyes of strangers: so that this booke (first) yeilds to thee a full discovery thereof. & (Idare say) the most valuable, that this our world hath been acquainted with, since that of America, whereby now the furthest East, as well as West, is disclosed, and laid open to the present age. For, as for some former relations, thou mayst have seen thereof, thou wilt by this discerne them to be as fabulous, as they are compendious and imperfect.

It was written by one, who, after first, a strict education in all sorts of learning, for two and twenty yeares space lived in that Kingdome, was resident at the Court, and in the greatest Cities thereof: and in all that time

To the Reader.

(as designing such a worke) was a diligent Observator and Collector of all their manners and customs; as likewise (after much paines taken in the Language) a great student of their Histories, and Writings. Whose laborious worke, after it had already bin clothed in many other Languages, besides the Authors, and welcomly entertained in most states of Europe, it was thought fit no longer to be concealed to a Nation, either for curiositie of knowledge, or industry of forraigne commerce, no way yeilding to her neighbours.

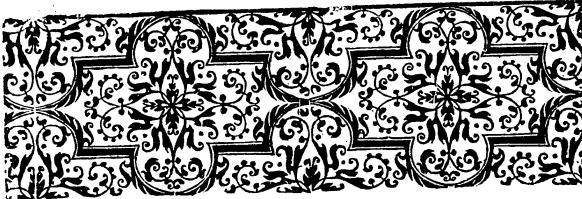
The variety of the subjects handled therein is so great (as comprehending the whole fabricke of that nation on their Politicks, Oeconomics, Sciences, Mechanicks, Riches, Merchandise, &c.) that those of whatsoever profession, may reap no small benefit in reading the designes, managements and practices therein, of so ingenious a People. Whose manners also (as their site) are so remote and different in most things from ours, that (I may say) in this piece is happily united, with the truth of History, the delight of a Romance: where it will be no small pleasure to thee to see their braines, as well as their bodies, as it were of a severall mould from the Europeans, and their inventions in many things, to walke antipodes to us, and yet in these no way below us, but in many superiour, or what in them appears less compleat, yet will the knowledge thereof not be ungratefull unto thee, because tis new and singular. As for many morall vertues, thou wilt find them so far to transcend us therein, that they may be proposed as an excellent patterne, (as also they are a shame) to Christian states. Lastly, to correct and reforme any their defects, and make

To the Reader.

make the nation perfectly happy, the light of Christianity bath of late visited this people, who sate in darknes: so that now (after America also enlightened) there is no end of the world left, wherinto the sound of the Gospel is not gone forth. The foundation of which being (there) already laid, there is great hopes that it may sooner come to a ful purity, reformation & perfection, & the indefatigable pains & undaunted courage of those labours who cultivate it in the East, provoke a greater diligence and emulation therin, in our planters in the West; where the Gospel (as following a conquest) may be advanced both with much more safety and authority.

To the end of this Treatise, I have added the History of the Tartarian invasion of China, much enlarged & freed from divers Erratas of the former Edition; which gives thee an account of the Chineſſe affaires till the yeare 1653. (Reader, thus much I thought good to advertise thee in the front of this Booke, that thou mayſt not be ſo great an hinderance to thy ſelfe, as not to be acquainted with ſo curious and beneficiale a discourse. Farewell.)

The



The Preface.



Ho writeth of things farre remote, doth almost alwayes incurre the inconvenience of many, and those no small defects : hence it is, that we see many Books, whose Authours, for their personal Qualities, might deserve more credit than may justly be given to their writings. As for those, who have written of *China*, I have perused some of them, who leaving in oblivion alnust all Truths, take the liberty to wander in discourses altogether fabulous : for this Kingdome being so remote, and having always with much Care avoided all communication with Strangers, reserving onely to themselves the knowledge of their own Affairs, with a most particular Caution : hence it followes, that nothing is knowne without the Confines thereof, but what doth, as it were, overflow into the skirts of the Country of *Cantone*, (a part of this Empire, whither the Portugheſes have been suffered to come) so that the most internall and secret knowledge thereof hath been reserved, either for the Natives of the Country, who know well enough how to conceale it; or for those, who, upon a better Motive, have, to discover it, little leſſe then forgotten their own nature, their language, their customes, and manner of living, and transformed themselves into the naturall humour of that Country.

Now this last hath by divine dispensation, fallen to the lott

The Preface.

of the Religious of the Company of *Jesus*; who although they came late to the Culture of the Church, are, notwithstanding, arrived to that honour to be reckoned among the first, that after Saint Thomas the Apostle, did cultivate those remote Confines of the world.

It is now fifty eight years, that they have laboured under this so distant Climate, where directing all their force and endeavours, to the conversion of Souls, they account it a manifest Theft, to employ any otherwise that time which they owe to the Service of God, and is of so much importance for the Eternall Salvation of men. Hence it is, that never any yet did, or would it have been permitted him, if he had desired it, to employ himselfe in writing the Relation of this Kingdome ; except it were Father *Nicolaus Trigalzius*, after he had by permission with-drawn himself from the culture of Christianity among the *Chineſes*, and passed from thence into Europe.

Vpon the same occasion I have undertaken to give a briefe account thereof, sufficient at least for the instruction of those, who desire to be informed concerning those parts : forbearing to make a more large discourse at the present, but reserving it for another time ; which may be, when wee shall returne to that vast Country, with new Labourers in so great a number, that some of the greatest Authority and Experience among us, may find leisure and convenience to undertake a perfect Relation.

In the mean time, abbreviating, as much as 'tis possible, this Information, without rendring that knowledge confus'd, which wee pretend to gratify the world with, we shall diuide the work into two parts. The first containeth the materiall part of the Kingdome; that is, the Provinces, Land, and Fruits; and in a manner, the formal part too; that is, the people, their learning, and customes. The second, the Beginning of Christianity there, the progresse thereof, the persecutions suffered therein; and finally the condition, wherein I left it, at my departure thence. I hope this worke shall gain some esteem and credit, if not for the greatnessse of the Appearance, at least for the certainty of the realiy of it; having taken

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taken what I write, from the infallible Testimony of mine eyes; which though they may not be of the quickest sighted, yet have had the advantage to reiterate very often their speculations. And if he which vieweth for a long time, although his sight be not of the best, doth commonly see more, then he who looketh in haste, be his eyes never so good: I, who, for the space of two and twenty years, have had the opportunity to observe all Passages of China, have certainly seen so much what I write, and what others have written, who have not seen them so well, that I must necessarily speak of them with more Certainty than they, although with less Eloquence.

THE

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THE

An Exact MAPP of CHINA, being fait
brought from Peking by a Father Lately



CHINA, being faithfully Copied from one
Father Lately resident in that City.

1655



CORAI vel COREA
Regnum Chine rectigale

Emprise de Manquin

THE





THE FIRST PART Of the Temporall State of CHINA.

C H A P . I. *Of the Kingdom in Generall.*



Hina in its extent is one great continued Continent, without having any thing which devides it : and taking it from the latitude of *Haynam* (which is not farre distant from the Continent, and lyeth in nineteen degrees) it extends it self twenty foure degrees, inclining towards the East ; and ending in fourty three degrees, it comes to make a circuite so much the more spacious, by how much the coasts thereof run along in various and un-equall windings ; and so comes to be the

chiefest kingdome of the world in greatnessse, and almost equall to all Europe. On the west side thereof are many small Islands, but so neere together, that they seem all to Compose but, as it were, one body.

All this Monarchy is divided into ~~six~~ nine Provinces ; each of which is a spacious Kingdome, and so they were all anciently ; each having a King of its own. Of those nine, which they call the Southern Provinces, the greatest part of them are watered with large rivers, and some of those, having so great plenty of water, that in many places the opposite banks are out of sight , one of the other ; and elsewhere, that which appeareth , is hardly to be distinguished what it is. They are all navigable, and are frequented with so a great concourse of divers sorts of vessels , that what might be said upon this occasion, will hardly seem credible : I shall onely say,

say, that in this, they do exceed all other rivers of the world. In an Arme of the river of *Nanchim*, which with a moderate breadth runneth down to *Hamchen*, I stayed eight dayes for a passage through that wondrous concourse of vessels : and whilest an houre-glass of sand was running out, I counted three hundred small ships, reckoning only those which came up the river. It is a marvellous thing, there being so many, that all are so well accommodated for Merchandise, and so convenient for passengers; They are all covered and kept very neat, and some of them so beautified and adorned with pictures, that they seem rather made for the recreation, than the traffick of Merchants.

The manner, after which they are governd is very notable : for the Marriners keep all without the place, where the passengers make their abode, there being space enough without for them to run up and down, that trim the Sayles and guide the Bark, without any disturbance of the others, who enjoy a pleasant easse and rest. In which the Barks of the province of *Hance* exceed the rest.

The six Northern provinces, as they come neareste to our latitude, do most resemble our climate, and are more dry and healthfull than the rest. But in all of them (more or lesse) there are not wanting many of a long and happy life; there being to be found many, and very vigorous and lusty old men.

Of the same more particularly.

This Kingdom is so populous, that not only the Villages, but even the Cities are in sight one of another; and in some places, where the rivers are most frequented, the habitations are almost continued. Of these there are fourteene great Cities which they call *Fus*, the lesser, which they call *Cen*, (concerning these, Writers have somewhat differed in their Relations;) Townes, which they call *Hien*; and Citties, which they call *Cid*. Besides these, there are Villages and Hamlets almost innumerable. Of all these the Walls are kept night and day with a four-fold Guard at the sound of a Bell, even to the innermost City of the Kingdom, as if they were alwayes in a condition of Warre: shewing, that to prevent the least imaginable danger, which may fall out in an houre; it is good to stand during life, upon our guard: for ordinarily all sudden ruines proceed from a long confidence. The streets are kept by Courts of Guard and Sentinels, with so much rigour, that if they find them asleep, or strangled from their Post, or that they do not speedily answer, they are presently condemned to the *bastinado*, which is immediately executed in the same place. The publick gates are shut every night with great care, and if there fall out any accident, they are not opened, til they are satisfied, how the Fact was done. In the year one thousand six hundred thirty four, I was in the City of *Kiamſ*, where thirty theives broke prisone, and having routed the guards, wounding some and killing others, set them-selves at liberty. The Fact was knowne; and the opening of the gates being suspended according to their inviolable custome, before next night the Malefactors were all taken, nor could the greatnesse of the City hide any one of them.

This

This Kingdom is so exceeding populous, that I having lived there two and twenty years, was in no lesse amazement at my coming away, than I was in the beginning, at the multitude of the people: certainly, the truth exceedeth all Hyperboles; not onely in the Cities, Townes, and publick places, (in some of which one cannot walk without great violence of thrusting and crowding;) but also in the High-wayes, there is as great a concourse, as is usually in Europe at some great feastivall, or publick meeting. And if we will referre our selves to the generall register book, wherein only the common men are enrolled and matriculated, leaving out women, children, eunuchs, professours of armes and letters, (almost an infinite number) there are reckoned of them to be fifty eight millions, and fifty five thousand, one hundred and fourescore.

The houses, where they inhabite, are not so sumptuous and lasting, as ours: yet are they more convenient for the good contrivance, and more pleasant for their exquisite neatnesse. They use much in their houses *Charam*, an excellent vernish, and painting of an accurate diligence. They build them not very high, esteeming them more convenient for being low, as well for habitation, as for good accommodation. The richer sort of people doe plant the courts and approaches to their houses with flowres and small trees; and, towards the North, they use fruit trees. In like manner, where they have roome enough, they set greater trees, and raise artificiall mountaines; to which end they bring from farre, great pieces of rocks: They keep there severall sorts of fowl, as Cranes and Swannes, and other beautifull birds: and also wild beasts, as Stagges, and fallow Deare: They make many fish ponds, where are to be seen gliding up and downe painted fish with gilded finnes, and other things likewise of curiositie and delight.

Their way of building is in this manner. They frame first exactly the roofoe of the house, which they set upon pillars of wood, the which by how much the bigger they are, are so much the more esteemed: after they fit up the walls with brick, or some such like matter. There is a Tradition, that, anciently, they made their buildings according to exact rules of measure and proportion; of which Art there are yet some booke remaining; but those rules are now only observed in the Kings palaces, and in publick workes; as, towres of Cities and Townes, which they make of severall formes; as round, square, octangular; very beautiful, with staires, some winding, some plaine, and Balansters on the out-side.

In the vessels and utensiles of their house they are both very curious and expensive, using much the abovesaid *Charam*, a sort of vernish, which is taken from certaine trees, proper only to that, and the neighbouring Countries: and in truth it is an excellent thing, as well for the perfection of the matter, (as may be seen in the workes which come from thence) as for the easinesse in working it, as well in making new things, as in retrimming the old; and reducing them to their former beauty.

As for plenty, whereas this kingdome, by reason of its large extent, doth partake of diverse latitudes and climates, it produceth and enjoyeth so great varietie of fruits, that nature seems there to have laid upon heapes, what shee but scatters through the rest of the world. It hath

within its owne doores all that is necessary for mans life, together with all superfluity of delicacies: whence it hath, not only no need to take almes of other Countries, but, with what it is able to spare, (which is both much and very good) it satisfieth the desires of the neighbouring and remote kingdomes, who have always a longing desire to see and enjoy it. Its chiefe sustenance is that which is most used throughout the world, to wit, wheat and rice; some Countries making most use of the one, and some of the other. *China* produceth both in so great plenty, that a *Piso* of each (a *Piso* containes 125 pound of our weight) is commonly worth five Reals, (that is, about halfe a crowne of English mony) and if it com- meth to seaven and a halfe 'tis counted a dearth.

The Northern Provinces use for their proper sustenance Wheate, Barly, and Maiz; eating Rice but seldome, as we doe in Europe, leaving it for the Southern Provinces. Which although they have Wheat in great plenty, make use of it with the same moderation, as we doe of Rice, or any other sort of fruit. They have Pulse of diverse kindes, the relife of the poorer sort of people, and the ordinary providner, in stead of Barly, for the Beasts of Burthen. They use Herbes much; they being the food of the ordinary people, almost all the year throughout; & the chiefe Inventorie of their Apothecaries shops, for their phycicke, which is founded only upon Herbes and very safe physick. Yet they want both Endive and Cardeus, but have in stead thereof others, which we want.

Flesh they have every where plentifully, even in small villages. That which they use most constantly throughout the yeare, is Hogs-flesh. Beefe is sold there without any bones, they taking them alwayes out, first. Venison they have not so plentiful: nor doe they much affect it; although they have there the same whch here afford us so much recreation; as, wild Boares, Stagges, fallow Deare and Hares, but no Conies. Of fowle there is great plenty, they have all ours in great abundance: Partridges of two sorts, one whereof differeth not from ours, but only in their call. The Nightingales, though they are bigger than ours, have the same voice and manner of singing. Other birds there are which we have not here, and are in great esteeme, as well for their beauty to the eye, as for their excellent taste to please the Palat. The birds which we see painted in their workes that come into Europe have, without doubt, for the most part, the resemblance of those there. Art alwaies favouring nature, or but little altering from her. They are excellent in bringing up of tame fowle, and have of every sort without number; Geese they have in so great quantity, that they feed up and downe the fields in huge flocks. That which is reported of their hatching egges by art, is very certaine; but it is only in the spring time, and then they have no need of the dam.

Wild Beasts, as Tigers and Wolves there are in abundance throughout the kingdome, though they doe not much hurt. There are Elephants alwaies to be seen at court, but they are brought from other Countries. For tame creatures they have all ours, as well for burthen (without using Oxen for this, as they are faine to doe throughout all India) as also for tillage of their land, in which they make use of Oxen. In the Southern parts the *Bufolo's* undergoe the chiefe labour. They have store of horses, but without

without mettle, and little worth. Coaches were formerly much in use with them, and growing out of fashion there, we tooke them up, being first used, in Italy and Spain, in the yeare 1546. Since they have only used Chaires and Sedans, finding them of leſte pompe and expence, and of greater convenience; wherefore to this day in all their journies they serve themselves with litters carried by Mules, or Chaires borne by 4, 6, or 8, men, according to the quality of the persons. Those which they use most in Cities are in forme not unlike unto ours. Those in which the women are carried, are bigger, more convenient, and more beautified; and also the manner of carrying them is different. In the two Cities of *Penckin* and *Nanckin*, where there is a greater concourse of all sorts of people, they have in all publick places a good quantity of Horses and Mules, with handsome furniture, and very well fitted with bridles and faddles, standing ready to be hired by such persons, as are desirous, with more eafe and leſte expence, to travell up and downe the City upon their occasions.

In the Northern provinces, they have but little fish, (except it be at the Court; which, for being ſuch, wants nothing.) The reaſon is, because in thofe parts there are no many Rivers: yet they caſe great ſtore of fish to be brought from the Southern Provinces, (which very much abound therein, taking them on the ſea coaſts, in lakes, and in pools in great plenty) dried and accommodated in diuerſe manners, ſo much as is ſufficient. In the River of *Nanckin* there is every yeare a fishing for the Kings uſe: and till that be done, there is a prohibition upon a rigorous penalty for any other perſon to fish: and the voyage being between five and fourty and threfcore daies journey, yet it is brought freſh and ſweet, without falting it. Troutes are not there ſo much eſteemed as with us; but *Sturgeon* every whit as much; which, when it is ſold at the deareſt, doth not exceed five-pence the pound: By which you may perceive the cheapeſſe of all other things.

Among fruits, Cherries, and Mulberries have there no eſteeme, for their taſt is not very good; they uſe the greateſt part of thofe fruits we have in Europe: but they are not comparable to ours, neither in quantity nor quality, except it be the Oranges of *Cantone*, which may well be called the *Queens* of Oranges: and are by ſome eſteemed to be, not ſo much Oranges as *Miscall Grapes*, diſguifed in that forme and habit. The Southern provinces haue the beſt fruit of all India; particularly *Cantone*; for they haue *Anans*, *Manghas*, *Bananas*, *Giachas*, & *Giambas*; & above all, there are ſome fruits proper to them of a particular excellency, ſuch as in *Cantone* are the *Licie*, (ſo the *Portugueſes* call them, but the *Chineſes*, *Lici*.) These on the outside are of an Orange colour, and when they are ripe doe very much beautify the trees they grow on. They are made like chaſtnuts, in the forme of an heart: when the ſhell is pilled of, which is only coniguous to it, the fruit remaines like a pearl in colour, very pleaſing to the ſight, but more to the taſte.

There is likewiſe a fruit called *Longans*, named by the *Chineſes*, *Lu-mien*, that is, Dragons eye, they are in figure and greatneſſe not much unlike a ſmall nut, but the *Paſpe* is very liſtle, and diſferent; but between the

the shell and the stone it is sweet and wholesome: this fruit is found in *Cantone* and *Fokien*.

Throughout the kingdome there are red figges, (a name put upon them by the *Portugheses*: for in the *Chinse* tongue they are called *Suzu*:) it is a fruit very different from figges in colour, figure and taste; the colour on the outside is red, on the inside like gold; the figure is of the bignesse of an Orange, bigger or lesser; for there is as much diversite of them, as there is among us of figges. The rinde is very thinne, and is of so extraordinary good taste, that in my opinion it may be reckoned among the chiefest in the world. They have one or two seeds, which are like unto blanched Almonds: the best are in the cold Countries. The provinces *Honan*, *Xiaofu*, *Xensi*, and *Xantum* enjoy the best in quality, and in great quantity; and dry enough of them to serve the whole kingdome. When they are dry, they are better than our dried figges, to which they have some kind of resemblance.

The province of *Hamcheu* produceth a particular fruit, which they call *Fammoi*, as bigge as a plumb, round, and in colour and taste like unto the best *Mulberries*: but the tree is very different.

Peaches there are none, unlesse it be in the Province of *Xensi*, where there are some of a notable bignesse: some are red both within and without; others of a yellow colour, of the same figure and taste with ours.

There are Melons every where in great abundance: but the best are not to be compared to our good ones: there are water melons in great plenty and very good.

Grapes are very rare and scarce, and grow only in Arbores, and close walkes, except it be in the Province of *Xensi*, where they are in abundance, and where they also dry them in great plenty. They make not their wine of Grapes, but of Barly, and in the Northern parts, of Rice; where they also make it of Apples, but in the Southern parts of Rice only; yet this is not ordinary Rice, but a certaine kind of it proper to them, which serveth only to make this liquor, being used in diverse manners.

Vineger they make of the same ingredients as their wine; and, in the Westerne Provinces, of *Millet*; which notwithstanding is sharp and well tafted.

The wine used by the common people, although it will make them drunke, is not very strong nor lasting, 'tis made at all times of the yeare: but the best only in the winter: It hath a colour very pleasing to the sight; nor is the smell lesse pleasing to the sent; or the Savour thereof, to the taste: take altogether, it is a vehement occasion, that there never want drunks; but without any mulct of shame; for they have not yet placed it in that consideration. Winter and Summer they drink it warm.

Flowers are in singular esteeme with these people, and they have some exceeding beautifull and different from ours; which (yet) they doe not want. They have Clove-gilfleflowres, which have no smell at all. They endeavour to have, the yeare throughour, flowers for every seafon in their gardens, in which they are very curios. They have some flowres, which in their duration exceed the ordinary stile of nature; in which they seeme to be exempt from their common tribute of a short life. For when these plants

plants have no moisture left for the nourishment of their leaves, and exposed to the cold, these do fall off, then do new flowres sprout againe, & those the most odoriferous, during the greatest inclemency of the frost and snow. These are called *Lamui*, more pleasing to the sent than the eye; their colour being not unlike that of Bees-wax. They have other flowers like Lillies, called *Tiaoboa*, which they keep in the houle, because that being carefully taken up with their roots entire and well cleansed from earth, they live and flourish in the ayre.

Their Garments, as also the furniture of their chambers and houses, they make of wooll, Linnen, Silke and Cotton, which they make great use of and weave thereof many faire and curious stuffs.

The riches of that kingdom is admirable: for besides that the earth is so fruitfull in all kinds of sustenance, and what ever is necessary for mans life, as may be perceived by what hath been already said; they do vend unto strangers the best and richest merchandise of all the East; such as are Gold-thread; Gold in the leafe and Ingot; Rubies; Saphires; small Pearle; Muske; raw silke; and wrought silk quick-silver; Copper, Tin, *Tonnaga*, which is a kind of metall more fine, and as hard as Tin; Vermillion; Salt-nitre; Brimstone; Sugar, and other things of lesse importance.

Their gilded workes for household-stuffe, ornaments and jewells for women, both for necessitie and curiositie, are sufficiently known to the world: nor doth all this issue out at one port, but by many in a great and perpetuall commerce. In all this abundant riches of the Country, industry of the inhabitants, Arts and means of gaining their living to an excessive plenty, they do not let passe any other thing, that can bring them any profit; and notwithstanding the sight of so great asfluence of noble commodities, they make a profit of their Beefe-bones; Hoggess-haires; and of the smalleſt ragge, that is throne into the ſtreetes. There reigneth among them that only pledge & suretie of the duration of Empires; that is, that the publike is rich, and no particulars. They are not so rich there as in *Europe*; nor so many which can properly deserve that name: nor are the poor here so many, nor so poor, as thofe there. The people is infinite, nor can they have a capitall, or stock, ſufficient for ſo many; or mony to fill ſo many purfes. Hence it comes to paſſe, that the partition among them is ſuch, that muſt comes to few, a mediocritie to not many, and a little to almoſt infinite. Their mony is muſch at one ſtay, which may be perceived by the ſame low price of things, ſalary of ſervants, pay of workmankiſhip, and ſtipend of publick Minifters.

So that even to this day, at leaſt in diuerſe of theſe countries they live, as they did formerly in *Portugall*; when a *Maravedi*, which is worth a farthing and a half, divided into fix blanes, would buy fix ſeveral things. So was it also in *Caſtile*, not only in ancient times, but even to the raign of *Don John* the firſt: the records of which are ſtill preſerved: but ſuch tempeſtance and plenty long ſince are gone out of the world. From hence it is manifest, how much that admirable duration of the Empire of *China* dependeth on obſerving its laws and ancient cuſtomes, without ever opening a gate (that the great ones might ſeeme greater, and the ſmall ones, great) to luxurie in apparel, and exceſſe in diet; which are the irreparable ruine

ruine of Common wealths.

A pound of mutton is worth a penny, a pigeon a farthing and a halfe, the hire of a man-servant for a year, two hundred farthings, and his dyet and lodging. But there is a great difference betwixt some places and others, those of the South, as they have the advantage in commerce, so they exceed the rest in money; and the price of things, which continually riseth, as we find every day by experience: but even there to this day, the rate is very moderate.

C H A P. 2.

*Of the Provinces in particular, and first
of those of the South.*

This kingdome is divided into two parts, South and North; and both these subdivided into fifteen provinces, as is above-said. To this Southern part belong nine, which are *Cantone, Quamsi, Yunnam, Fukien, Ki-amsi, Suchuen, Uiquam, Chekiam, Nankim*, we wil treate of these in this chapter, and of the rest in the next. That we may proceede distinctly, speaking of them in the same order that we have named them.

Cantone is the first, and lyeth in that part of the South, that is properly named *Quantum*. It is in the latitude of twenty three degrees, it is large, rich, and abounding in wheat and rice; of these it produceth each yeare two harvests, though for the most part they are of a severall graine. There is store of suger, copper and tin, materials, which they worke, with great variety, into innumerable sorts of vessels; as also, workes made with *Charam*, an excellent vernish, and with gilding, some whereof are transported into *Europe*.

The Jesuits in this province had two residencies with their Churches and houses, vwhich perished by reason of Severall persecutions, as you shall find hereafter.

The people are able Mechanicks, and though of small invention, yet they imitate excellently whatsoeuer they find invented. To the City called also *Cantone* (though the proper name thereof bee *Guamchenfu*) the *Portugesses* go twice every year with their marchandise. It is distant from *Macao* an hundred and five miles: and *Macao* is distant from the first Islands, and from the greater Cities of that Empire fifty four: The circumference thereof is 15 good miles. The concourse of merchants thither is very great, and therefore it is more peopled than many of the other Cities. The most and best commodities of that Kingdome are brought thither, because it is the most open and free seat of trade in that nation. And to say nothing of the six neighbouring kingdoms, from whence all sorts of merchandise is brought thither, as well by natives as strangers: only that which the *Portugesses* take in for *India*, *Giappone* and *Manila*, cometh once year with another to five thousand three hundred chefts of severall silke stuffes; each chest including 100 pieces of the most

most substantial silks, as velvet damask and sattin, of the lighter stuffes, as halfe-damasks, painted and single taffties 250 peices of gold 2200 Ingots of 12 ounces weight a pence; of musk, seaven *Pichi*: which is more then 35 *Arrova's*; every *Arrova* weighing 25 pound, of 6 ounces to the pound, besides small pearle, sugar, *Porcellane* dishes, *China* wood, *Rhenbarbe*, and severall curious gilded workes; and many other things of lesse importance; it being hard to name them all even in a longer relation.

To this Province belongeth the Island of *Aynan*, where pearls are fished in great plenty. It is sufficiently populous, by one city, it hath Several villages on the North part thereof: towards the South there lyeth a barbarous people, which admit the *Chineses* only to traffike and commerce, without submitting to their dominion. It produceth that precious wood of *Aquila* and that sweet wood, which the *Portugesses* call rose-wood, and the natives, *Hoalim*; and other things of lesse importance.

On the North side of *Cantone* the Province of *Quamsi* extendeth it selfe to the latitude of 25 degrees: it enjoys the same climate without any considerable difference; (so that it hath nothing particular, which is notable,) and is counted the second Province.

Tunnam is the third, and lyeth in the latitude of 24 degrees, and is the furthest distant of any from the Centre of *China*: it is a great countrie, but hath little merchandise, I know not any thing is brought from thence, unleesse it bee that matter, whereof they make the beads for chapplets, which in *Portugal* they call *Alambras*, and in *Castile, Ambares*; and are like Amber, they are counted good against the catarre, it is digged out of mines, and sometimes in great peices: it is redder than our Amber, but not so cleane. In this province is violated that custome of the Kingdome that women do not go to the market to buy or sell, as in other countries of the world.

On the other side of *Cantone* is the fourth Province called *Fukien*, or by another name *Chincheo*, in the latitude of 26 degrees: it is for the greatest part Mountainous, and therefore not so well inhabited. Contrary to the lawes of the Kingdom, the Natives of this Province do go into the countries of the neighbouring strangers, which are upon the sea-coasts. It yeeldeth gold, good sugar in great quantitie, good *Canvas*-cloath; for other linnen there is none in *China*. There is made excellent paper of diverse kinde, which for plenty, goodnesse, and cheapnesse, is very remarkable. They make use of printing no lesse conveniently, and (as it appeareth) more anciently, than in *Europe*, although not in the very same manner: for here, after the printing of each sheet, the letters are taken asunder: there they carve what they would print upon boards or plate, so that the booke are still preferred entire in their work-houses, and therefore as often as there is occasion, they can reprint any book, without the expence of new setting the letters. This country is situated upon the Sea-side, and is another eminent port, from whence are isslied out of that Kingdom, infinite Merchandise, which are carried by the people of this country, that are industrious, and brought up to it, to *Manila, Giappone*, and particularly to the Island *Formosa*, which is even in the sight of the land, (for with a

a good wind it is not above 24 hours voyage thither) where they trade with the *Hollanders*.

There are two houses and Churches there belonging to our company; under whose Government and direction are a great number of very good Christians; who have about ten Churches belonging to them, which are visited by us very diligently at set times. Two of their chiefe Churches are in the City of *Fuschein* which is their Metropolis: another in the City of *Ciumchu*, the rest in other Cities. There are (besides) many particular Oratories.

The Island *Formosa* lyeth in the Latitude of 22 degrees, it is situated between the Kingdome of *China* and *Giappone*: before you come thither you must passe by a great number of Islands named *Liquen*: the length of this Island is 150 miles, the breadth 75.

The *Hollanders* have there a fort placed in a sandy vale, under which lyeth the Port, which is encompassed with bankes of sand, and if it were not distinguished and secured by certaine posts set up in the water, the entrance would be very difficult even to those of the Countrie. On the other side of the Island toward the East, the *Spaniards* have a fort, distant from that of the *Hollanders* 90 miles by sea, and by land 45, as is reported. The soyle of the Island is so fruitfull, that it produceth graffe nine or ten palmes high (a palme is nine inches, English measure) where the *Hollanders* feed their cattell. There is so great abundance of Stagges, that it seemeth incredible to him that hath not seen it. Father *Albertus Miceschi*, (who lived there in the condition of a slave) relateth, that, riding to the next woods with leave from the Governor, to gather some medicinal hearbes, he saw by the way so great a multitude of Stagges, that he judged them to be the herds belonging to the people of the Country, dispersed up and downe the fields, till coming neerer he found with his eyes the contrary. There are also many of those Animals called *Alces* or *Elkes*, the which, I did hitherto beleive, were only to be found in *Lituania* and the adjacent Countries. There are also many other Animals wholly differing from ours, and altogether strange to us. It is the likest Country to *Europe* of all *India*: it enjoyeth an healthfull ayre, and cold, like ours. It produceth some splices, but not in great plenty; as Pepper in the woods, and Cynamon on the mountaines, & Camphire trees of a notable bignesse, *China* roots, and *Salsapariglia*, in great quanttie. There are also gold mines, but the *Hollanders* have not yet open'd them.

The people of the Countrie weare no manner of cloathes; nevertheless both men and women doe cover that, which in all the *India's* useth to be hidden from sight, by the instinct of nature. They dwell in round houses made with Bulrushes of severall colours, beautifull to behold a farre off. Their ordinary food is Stagges flesh as fat as porke; and Rice, of which also they make very strong wine. Many of them doe turne Protestants by the perwasion of the *Holland* Ministers, and live vertuously. They are tall and active of body, so fleet in running that they are able to sngle out, and run downe a Stagge in their hunting. Their Lords doe weare a Crowne of dead mens skulls, stitched together and embellished with silke: and thefe are the heads of their enemies killed by themselves. Their

Their King weareth two wings of various feathers upon his head: others crowne themselves with apples of gold, others make themselves horns of a certaine straw, made up with *Bufalo's* haire: They gird themselves also about with a girdle of young Bulrushes curiously woven. They carry hanging at their breast two Tortoises and a wooden mallet, which serve them in stead of a drum. There is likewise another Island neere to it, inhabited by fierce savage people, who kill, whbsever goeth thither. The above-named father *Miceschi* saw one of them taken by the *Hollanders*, who was fifteen palmes high, as it seemed to him.

The fift place we will give to the Province of *Kiamfi*, which is contiguous to that of *Cantone* toward the North, in the latitude of 29 degrees. It takes its beginning from a great ridge of mountaines, which rearre themselves upon the confines of *Cantone*, from these Mountaines two Rivers have their originall, one, which runneth toward the South, and is presently navigable; the other towards the North; which after it hath watered a good part of this Province receiveth into his channell another large River of the Province of *Huquany*, and then runneth forward with the name of the famous *Nankim*. The skirts of these Mountaines are considerable for the good Cities that are scituated thereon; very convenient for the passage of travailers, and for the conduct of Merchandise; which for the most part passeth upon the backs of men and boyes, according to the abilities of each, learning this trade from their youth, which is the most u'all employment of that Countrie. The voyage is but of one whole day, and it is very much to see what passeth by in it. For there being no other bridge; and these Rivers being the most frequented passes of all *China*, tis almost incredible, how great a concourse of people there is, and what a multitude of commodities, which goe and come without intermission. The Merchandise is all put in one store-house, and is received by weight into another with so much fidelite, that it is not necessary the owner should be present, because upon all accidents the Hostes are bound to make good whatsoever is wanting. They are obliged also to give to every guest of qualite, or Merchant two banquets, or one at least, as also to their servants; and if they be not satisfied therewith, they tell them of it, expostulate, and threaten not to frequent any more their Inne, there not wanting many others.

By this Government they make their covetous Hostes very sumptuous and bountifull. The Hostes are also obliged, as soone as their guests are embarqued, (for if they goe by land this priviledge ceaseth) to lende them a present of two things, or of one at least, as fruit, two fishes, a little flesh, a couple of pullets; and this without paying, either at your entrance, abode, or departure; for there is nothing to be payd, either for the lodging or bedstead, I say bedstead, because the Hoste allowes you no bed but every one carrieth one with him at his backe, when he hath no other convenience; but they are not so big as our beds, but much lighter. The profit of the Hoste consisteth in so much *per cent*, which is paid them by the Boateman for such persons, or goods as are carried by water; and by the porters for such as passe by land; and as the concourse is great, the profit cannot be little. Every thing passeth through the hands of Insurers, so that

that if any thing be wanting, they supply it and make it up.

In the Custome-houfe (for there is a very famous one here) there is not so much honour done the Merchant, but more favour. There is no house where the Merchandise is deposited, weighed or visited; neither is it taken out of the barke; but only a moderate rate is payed for it by the eye, and according to the Merchants booke of accounts. If the passenger be no Merchant, although he goe alone in a Barke with his servants, and carry five or six chefts, and severall other things, which are usually transported from one Country to another, they are not searched nor opened, neither doe they pay any custome. A good example for the Custome and Gabell-houses of Europe, where a poore traveller is so beastly and barbarously, robbed and spoiled; when all he carrieth with him is not worth so much as they aske him for custome.

For strangers ships, which come into the Port of Macao, as foone as any arriveth, they unlade their Merchandise as they please, without any hinderance; and when the customers come, they pay them according to the content of the vessel, without making any enquiry into the qualitie of the Cargazon.

But to retурne to the Province of Kiamſi, (of which we were discouſing,) it particularly aboundeth in Rice and fish, but most of all in people. So that the Chineſſes call them Laochu, that is to ſay, Rats. Whereof, we have a reſemblance in Portugall, in the Country that lyeth between the Rivers Duero and Migno; which, where it confineth upon Gallitia hath ſo great multitude of people, that it is therefore called by the ſame name; although learned men doe derive it from Rates, an ancient part of that Country.

Now this people running over the whole kingdom, like ſwarmes of Bees, do fill it with severall Trades whereunto they apply themſelves, and for the greatest part they lead a miserable life, and are therefore ſo penurious, niggardly, and drie in their presents, that they paſſe, in ridiculous proverbs, through the reſt of the Provinces.

It is famous for Sturgeon, which it hath of very great bignesse, and more for the Porcellane dishes (indeed the only work in the world of this kinde) which are made only in one of its Townes: So that all that is uſed in the Kingdom, and diſperſed through the whole world, are brought from this place: although the earth, whereof they are made commeth from another place: but there only is the water, wherewith preſcely they are to be wrought to come to their perfection, for if they be wrought with other water the worke will not haue ſo much gloſſe and luſtre. In this worke there are not thoſe myſteries that are reported of it here, neither in the matter, the form, nor the manner of working, they are made absolutely of earth, but of a neate and excellent quality. They are made in the ſame time, and the ſame manner, as our earthen vefſels; only they make them with more diligence and accuratenesse. The Blew, wherewith they paint the Porcellane, is Anill, whereof they haue abundance, ſome do paint them with Vermilion, and (for the King) with yellow.

This Province, and that of Chincheo and Canzone, which border one upon

upon another, do unite, as it were, in an angle, with many Mountaines between them: In the middle of which Mountaines there is a ſmall Kingdome, which hath a particular King of its own without any ſubjeſtion to the Chineſſes; from whom he doth defend himſelfe, if they pretend to affault him; nor is the defence difficult, there being but one entrance into that kingdome. They admit of the Chineſſe Phyſicians in their infirmities, but not of their learned men into the administration of their government. If they haue an ill Harvest, and that there is like to be a ſcarſity they go out, and rob in a millitary order, to the ſound of the drum. So in the year 1632 they gave no ſmall trouble to this province of Kiamſi.

The laſt account ſhall be concerning the Christianity there, which hath proſpered very well, being alſo beneficed with two Churches and houses which we haue in that Province, the one in the City of Nauchan, which is the Metropolis, The other in the City of Naubium.

The fixt Province is called Suchuen, in the ſame paralel with that of Kiamſi, and in the ſame latitude of 29 degrees, nor hath it any thing in partiſular differing from the former, worthy the relation.

The Province of Huquam is the seventh in Scituatiōn, it lyeth more to the North, in the height of 31 degrees, it exceeds the whole Kingdom for the abundance of Rice. The Chineſſes ſay, that that whole Kingdom is able to give but a breakfast in reſpect of Huquam, which provideth for the whole yeare. It hath ſtore of oyle, and no leſſe Fish, by reaſon of the rivers, which it enjoyeth, and the lakes, which ſeem rather Seas. In the Metropolis of this Province there was a Reſidencie begun at the time of my arrival.

The province of Cakiam, which is the eighth, lyeth in the Latitude of 30 degrees: it is for the moft part ſcituated by the Seaſide, fertile, plain, and almoft all diuided by ſeveral rivers, ſome whereof run through their Cities and Townes. In riches it exceeds many of the Provinces, as being, the Fountain, from whence the beſt Commodities of that Monarchie doe flow: it is ſingular in filke, which it diſtributeth through every part, whether it be raw, or wrought, in Balls or in Stuffe. All that goeth out of the Kingdome any way, cometh from this Province: though all China hath the benefit of the Silk-worm, yet all the reſt would not ſerve them, to make them Scarfes: the name of the Metropolis is Hamchen. Here we haue two houſes, which upon certain good conſiderations are reduced to one, where there is culivated a copious and good Christianity, and alſo muſch honoured, by reaſon of the number of people of quality that are in it,

Finally, this Province is famous for many things, but particularly for three. The firſt is a lake called Sihu, which is one of the rareſt in the world. It is in circuite Thirty Lis, which are fix miles: it is ſet about with excellent Palaces, and theſe enironed by pleafant Mountaines cloathed with graſſe, plants, and trees: the water is alwayes running, for there comming in a current at one end ſide, iſſuing out at the other; it is ſo cleere, that it inviteth one to behold it with great delight, the ſmalleft ſand, that lyeth at the bottome, being to be diſcovered. There are cer-

ta'ne wayes paved with stone, that do crosse over it, offering passage to those that travell over it, either upon their occasions or curiositie: there stand ready small Barkes of a considerable burden which are made for recreation and banquers; the kit chin is in the steerage, or the forecastle, and the middle space serveth for a hall. Above higher, there is a place for the women, covered with lattices, that they might no: be seen. These Barkes are painted and gilded after a curious and various manner, and are provided in great abundance with all things necessary for the navigation which is short and free from wracks of water, but not so well from those of wine; there happening many: as also shipwrackes of estates very often; there being scarce any in the whole kingdome that hath any thing, that doth not come to spend in these delights, either part or the whole; and sometimes more than his whole stock is worth.

The second is, the excellency of the silke, as well for the plenty above-said, as for the curiositie of the Art, with which a good part of it is wrought, engrayling it with precious and beautifull workes of gold. This is only after their manner and gusto; and is not sent out of the kingdome, but as a singular worke is referred for the Kings Palaces, who every year buyeth up all that is made of this sort.

The third is, the worshipping of their Idols; in which is particularly to be perceived whence the fabrick of their Temples proceeds, which are without doubt very famous.

The last of these nine Southerly Provinces is *Nankim*, scituated in 32 degrees of latitude, and is one of the best Provinces of the kingdome, and the perfection of the whole realm. It sendeth abroade its commodities, or workes of importance, to no part; as if they were unworthy, to participate of its perfection; which is most rare in all sort of varietie, and so much exceeding all the rest, that every one, to sell his commodities the better, pretendeth, that they are of *Nankim*, and so passeth them off, at a greater price.

That part which is towards the West, is the most rich, and maketh so much Cotton-wool, that those of the Country affirme, that there is only in the towne of *Xanuchi* and the precinct thereof, which is large, 200000 Loones for this stufte; so that from that place only the King draweth 150000 crownes yearly.

In one house there useth to be many of them for they are narrow, as the stufte is. Almost all the women are employed in this work.

The Court did reside in this Province for a long time; and even to this day all the Courts of justice and priviledges thereof are conferred in the City of *Nankim*, whose right name is *Umthienfu*; and it seemeth to me to be the best and greatest City of the whole Kingdome, both for the form of the building, the largenesse of the streets, the manners and dealing of the people, and for the plentie and excellency of all things.

It hath admirable places of recreation, and is so populous through its confines, that the villages succeed one another, in a manner, from three miles to three miles; although at this day, by reason it wants the presence of the King it is, in its selfe lesse populous; nevertheless in diverse parts thereof it is yet troublesome to walke the streets for the crowde of people
that

that one meeteth. Besides, the many Palaces, Temples, Towers, and Bridges doe render it very considerable. In the wall thereof there are twelve gates, barr'd with Iron, and guarded with Artillery: a good way without runneth another wall with no small ruines. The circuit thereof (for I was desirous to know the measure of it) is two daies journey on horse-back: That of the inner wall is eighteen miles; both the one and the other have within them many populations, gardens, and fields which are tilled, the bread whereof useth to be applied to the use of the soldiery within the City, to the number of fourty thousand.

In one part thereof there is cast up an artificial Mount, on the top whereof there is seen a wooden spheare, not armed, although the circles thereof are placed at the latitude of the same City, which is 32 degrees; a small latitude in respect of the great colds, but a very large one, for the great heate which it suffereth: The spheare is in circumference of a notable bignesse, and is a very compleat piece of work.

It hath moreover a Tower divided into feaven stories of singular beauty for the workmanship thereof, it being full of figures, and wrought like *Perrallane*: an edifice, which might be ranked amcng the most famous of ancient *Rome*. The river cometh to kisse the feet of this City, and sendeth up some armes of it selfe into it. The name of the river is *Tanchukiam*, that is to say, the Sonne of the sea; nor vainly is it so called, it being the most abundant in water, of any that is knowne in the world. There is also great plenty of fish.

We have foure Churches in this Province, the first in *Nankim*, with a house of *Jesuites*, and is of a very ancient, and exercised, Christianity: having suffered foure persecutions, and come of from each of them with more vigour. The secon, in the Towne of *Xambai*, with a great number of beleevers. The third in the City of *Xamkiam*. The fourth in the Towne of *Kiatini*: beside these Churches there are many Oratories. And so much shall suffice concerning the nine Southern Provinces,

Of the Northern Provinces.

Six are the Provinces, which are called Northern, and their names are *Honam*, *Xensi*, *Kiansi*, *Xantum*, *Pekim*, and *Leotum*. The first lyeth in the latitude of 35 degrees, as centre of the Kingdome, and produceth most gallant fruits, as well those that are proper to the Countrie, as ours in Europe; nor is the cheapnesse of them lesse: I bought for a farthing and a halfe 88 Apricocks; it hath nothing else notable, except a Son of the Kings called *Foram*, the last of those which came out of the Palace. He liveth with so great splendour and authoritie of a King, that to be such, he only wanteth the name and jurisdiction. In *Caijum*, the Metropolis thereof, we have had onely for these few yeares, a Church and house, but a good plenty of Christians.

The secon is *Xensi*; it lyeth in 36 degrees, and more, to the West: it

it is very large, but dry for want of water, as also are the three neighbouring Provinces: notwithstanding it doth abound in Wheate, Barly and Maize, of Rice they have but little. All winter long they give wheat to their Beasts; which are many; particularly their sheep, which they sheare three times a year, once in the Spring, another time in the Summer, a third in the Autume; but the first time of shearing yeeldeth the best wool.

From hence cometh all the wool, of which are made the felts and other things used, either in this Province or elsewhere. They make there of no sort of cloath, not using to spin wool, but only Goats-haire, of which they weave certain Stuftes for the hanging of their roomes, in so great perfection that the most ordinary are better than ours, and the Best are esteemed more precious than silk. They make likewise of Goats-haire a very fine Felt, which they call *Tum*, and is made use of for garments: But this is not made of every sort of Goats-haire, but of a very fine haire which lyeth under the first. They pull it out with great care, and make it up in certain bals of the bignesse of an ordinary loaf, and then put it out to be wrought with singular skill.

Musk is proper to this Province; and because it is in question, after what manner this excellent perfume is made; I will give you account of it according to the most diligent enquir yI have made concerning it. It is the Navel of an Animal about the bignesse of a small Stagge, whose flesh is very good meat; and only that part is taken containing that precious matter: but all those Cods, which are brought hither to us, are not true and perfect Navells; for the Chineses have learnt to falsifie them, by stuffing some peices of the skin of that *Animall* with musk, that is vitiated, and mingled, with some other things,

Here is also Gold found, but not in Mines (for though there be Mines both of Gold and Silver, the King doth not suffer them to be opened) but out of Rivers and Eddies: and although it be found only in small peices and graines, yet being put together, it amounts to a great quantity, there being infinite people both young and old, which go in search of it.

There is *Rubarbe* and *Profumo*, which are not found in any other part; for that which cometh from *Persia* doth not seem to be naturall, to that place; for, of as many as have travelled through that countrie, there is not any that gives an account to have seen there that healthfull plant. It is something tall, with leaves bigger than Cole-worts: it doth not grow wilde, as some have imagined, but is Cultivated in gardens with a great deale of care.

In this Province is opened the third Gate, the which, as I sayd above, is a seat of much Merchandise: for it hath two Cities in the borders thereof, *Gauchen* and *Suchen* toward the West, (as *Machao* is in the Province of *Cantone* toward the South) from whence come numerous Caravans of above a thousand in company, of severall Nations and Provinces, but for the most part Moores. Thus far came Brother Benedict, to seek for the Kingdom of *Cathaya* (which is no other than *China* it selfe) whose voyage we will here breifly relate,

He departed in Lent, the year 1603 for to find out the truth of what was

was reported of the Kingdome of *Cathaca*, by order of the superiors of *India*, from the Kingdome of *Mogor* and the royal City of *Laur* in the Habit of an *Armenian* carrying Merchandise, as well to live, as to passe with the more facility. The whole *Caravan* consisted of 500 Persons (for the most part Sarafens) and used to go every year from this royall City to another in another Kingdom named *Casfar*. After a months voyaige he arrived at a City named *Ahu*, of the same province with *Laur*: thence in two months and a half, to *Paffaur*: and after another month and a half, sometimes travelling, and sometimes resting, he came to the City of *Ghideli*, where he wanted little to have been slain by theives: And finally after 20 dayes more he came to the City of *Cabu*, the most noble Merchant-towne of all the countries subiected to the *Mogor*, from hence after some stay, he passed to *Parvam*, the last City of the Kingdom of *Mogor*; then travelling for 20 dayes over very high Mountains he came to *Calcia*, a country of faire-hayed people; and in other 25 dayes to *Chema*, where he was forced to stay a month by reason of Civill broils; and after many troubles and dangers of theives and *Banditti*, and having passed many countries of the Kings of *Samarhan*, they came into the country of *Tango*, and at length he entred into the Metropolitan City of the Kingdom of *Casfar*, called *Tanghesar*, in the month of November, in the same year.

At this City, which is, a noble seate of Merchandise for those Kingdomes, the Caravan of Merchants which come from *Cabull*, ended their voyaige, and a new *Caravan* setteth forth from thence to go to *China*. But our Brother remained here (first) many months, expecting the time of their departure, and having in the meane time made himselfe known to the King of the country, he obtained letters of favour and recommendations, to all places whither he should go.

The time therefore being come, he departed with ten horses, for to carry himself, his companion and his goods in company of the whole *Caravan* toward *Chataya*, that is *China*, in the moneth of November the year following; and having travelled 25 dayes with a great deale of difficultie, over stones and sand, he came to the City of *Aesu*, part of the Kingdom of *Casfar*: after having passed a desart, called *Caracathai*, that is, Black-earth, and gone through many Cities, at length he came to a City called *Cialis* in the same Kingdom of *Casfar*. Here whilest he fitted himself for his journey, there arrived Merchants which came from *China*, of whom Brother Benedict learned some tydings of the City of *Pekim*, and of our Fathers, which had been there seen by these Saracen Merchants. So that he was satisfied, that *Cathaya* was nothing else but *China*; and the royall City, named by the Sarafens *Gambalú*, was *Pekim*. From this City of *Cialis*, Benedict departing with a few in company, came in twenty dayes to *Pucian*, and afterwards to *Turphan*, *Arامون*, and *Canul* the last City of the Kingdome of *Cialis*. From *Canul* after nine dayes journey, they came to the wall of *China*, at a place called *Chiacion*: and so had entrance into *China*, which he sought under the name of *Cathaya*. Excepting therefore eleven dayes journey, which was through a country peopled by *Tartars*, all the rest of his voyage was through countries inhabited by Moores, or *Mahometans*.

Now to return to our story : with these *Caravans* come Embassadors, which the Princes of the Moors send to the King of China, making every three years a small Embassy, in respect both of the Persons and the presents ; and every five years a great one. The most part of the *Caravan* remaine in the two above-named Cities ; (which are upon the *Frontiers*) trafficking there with their Merchandise. The others go to comply with their charge, and to offer the present in the name of five Kings, which are the Kings of *Rume*, *Arabia*, *Camul*, *Eamarcan*, *Turfan* : The first four know nothing of this Embassy: the fifth, although he know of it, doth not make the present, nor send the Embassy; but hath only this advantage, that he nameth the Embassadors. The present is made by the Merchants among themselves, & these coming to the Vice-roy of those parts, the King hath advice given him of their arrival by a paper, called a *memorial* or *petition*: as soone as they have leave from the Court, and that their names are inrolled, there depart 40. or 50. of them, besides many more added to them ; who, to have leave to enter into the kingdome to trade, & to eate at the Kings expences, give the captaine a Bribe of about a hundred or six-score crownes a man. There goeth a long with them a *Mandarine*, who entertaineth them of freecost, while they travell: But if they make any stay (as they did in the *Metropolis* of the province, for more than three monthes space) the Kings expence ceaseth, but not the benefit of their traffique, for all that while they follow their Merchandise.

The Merchandise which they bring, are Salt-*Armoniak*, fine Azure, fine linnen, carpets, called *Raisins*, knives, and other small things. The best and greatest Commoditie is a certain stonye, called *Taca*, which they bring from the Kingdom of *Tauken*; the worst is of a whitish colour, the finest is green, it hath been of great price formerly in *China*, and is still of good value. They make thereof diverse sortes of Jewels for the ornament of the head, and it is much used in the palaces: the girdle, which the King giveth to the *Colai* is embrodered with the finest sort therof, which no other is allowed to use in this ornament. That which they carry back in exchange of their commodities is *Porcellane*, *Rubies*, *Musk*, raw-silk, silk-stuffes, diverse other rarities and medicinal drugges, as *Rubarb*; And this I do imagine is the same which is transported from *Persia* to these parts.

The Embassadors being arrived, they offer their present, which consisteth of a thousand *Arrabas* of this precious stone (whereof we have spoken) which maketh 1333. Italian pounds, whereof 300. pounds are of the finest sort, 340. horses, which are to be left upon the frontier, 300. small poyated Diamonds, twelve *Cates* of fine Azure, which is about 100. Italian pounds, 600. knives, & as many files. The last present seeming to me improper to be presented to a King, I enquir'd whatuse the King made of them, but I could not meet any one wasable to inform : only a Captain told me, that it was a very ancient thing for that present to be composed of such things, with so much infallibility they durst not make any alteration. Of the rest of the commodities which they bring, if the King desirereth any thing, he sendeth to see and buy it. At their returne the King rewardeth them with two pieces of cloth of gold for each horse, 30. pieces of yellow silk, 30. pound of *Chá*, ten of *Musk*, 50. of a medicine called *Tieno*, and

and as many of Silver. These *Saracens* told me, that the present, which they gave the King, was not in their country worth above 7000 Crownes, but what was given them by the King for their Embassy and voyage, was noe lesse worth then 5000 Crownes : a pretty good gayne, but ordinary from those Princes.

From this Province goeth another Caravan for the powerful Kingdom of *Tibet*; which carryeth diverse things, in particular, *Silk-stuffs*, *Porcellane* See a larger dic- and *Chá*. *Chá* is a leaf of a tree, about the bignesse of *Mirrtle*; in other course of the ordering of this leaf, and of the many Provinces, of the hearbe *Basil*; and in others, of the small *Pomgranat*. They drye it over the fire in iron-sives, where it hardens and sticketh together. There is of many sorts of it, as well because the plant is various, as also that the upper leaves do exceed the other in finenesse, a property almost of all plants. There is of it, from a Crown a pound to four farthings according to the quality of it, there being so many differences thereof. It being thus dried and cast into warme water, it giveth it a colour, smell and tast, at the first unpleasing, but custome makes it more acceptable. Tis much used in *China* and *Giappone*, for it serveth not only for ordinary drink in stead of water, but also for entertainment to strangers when they visit them; as wine doth in the Northern parts; it being throughout all those kingdoms esteemed a wretched niggardlynesse to give only good words to those that come to their house, although they be strangers : at least they must have *Chá*; and if the visit be any thing long, there must be added some fruit or sweet-meates : sometimes they lay the cloath for this, and when not, they set it in two dishes upon a little square table. Many vertues are related of this leaf: certain it is, that it is very wholesome; and that, neither in *China* nor *Giappone*, there is any troubled with the stone, nor is so much as the name of this disease known: from whence may be inferred, how great a preservative against this evill the use of this drink is: it is also certain, that it powerfully delivereth from the oppression of sleep, whosoever desirereth to watch, either for necessarie or pleasure; for by suppressing the fumes it easeth the head without any inconvenience: and finally it is a known and admirable help for students. For the rest I have not so great an assurance of it that I dare affirm it.

There is found also in this Province a most evident signe of the ancient Christianitie, which hath been there, as we shall relate in its order.

In the great Metropolis thereof we have a Church and a house, with a well founded and fruitfull Christianity; by whom also many particular Oratories are frequented.

Rianfi is the third of these six Northern Provinces, which we are now discoursing of: It lyeth in the Latitude of thirty eight degrees; it hath many mountaines, which makes their Harvest but poore: there is little wheate, lesse Rice, but most Maiz: it is so abundant in grapes, that it serveth the whole Kingdome with *Raisins*, and might furnish, at least it selfe, with wine ; as it succeeds in a Residencie, which we have there, where we make now only enough for to serve the *Masses*, but send also sufficient to the next Residencies. It hath wells of fire for the use of their houses as we have of water in *Europe*, they seeme to be Mines of sulphur set on fire; so that opening a little the mouth of the well, which must not be

be very large, it sendeth forth so great a heate, that they rost and boyle therewith whatsoeuer meat they desire. Their ordinary fewell, as likewise in all the confines thereof, Stone-coale, not small ones, such as are found in some of our Countries of Europe; but of a very considerable big-nesse: There are Mines very fruitfull of this matter, which burneth with a great deale of easie. In some parts, as *Pekim* and *Honam* they lay it together in such manner, that the fire lasteth day and night; They make use of Bellowes to kindle it.

We have a house and a Church in the City of *Kiamchen*, another in that of *Phucheu*; which are visited at their set times; both the one and the other have a good and numerous Christianity, and among them, many of the Nobility. There are not wanting Oratories, (as in other Cities,) by which the scarfity of Churches is supplied.

The fourth Province which is *Xamun*, in the Latitude of 23. degrees, lying betwixt *Nankim* and *Pekim*, is very poore; it suffereth many times a loathsome and malignant Infestation by *Grillo's* or field-Crickets, and by consequence, the terrible horrour of famine.

In the yeare 1616 a dogge bought to be eaten, was worth more than a young man sold for a slave; it produceth store of Cattell, and of our fruits, great peares, many and good. There growtheth here in great number and varietie a fruit, which seemed to some of us to be a pear of a good kind, in so great abundance, that filling the Kingdom, they overflow even to *Macao* although it be a great way off; and that there are three large Provinces betwixt.

Pekim is the fift Province, scituated in the Latitude of fourty degrees; it enjoyeth the priviledge of having the Court in a City of the same name. Though the proper name of it be *Xumhienfu*: by the Sarances called, *Lambaland*. This good fortune befell it, (for so I may call it,) at the death of *Humvū*, when a nephew of his, named *Vunlo*, who dwelt in this Province, and was very potent, usurped by violence the crowne against the right heire: And so coafiding more in them, with whom he had alwaies lived, as also to be the better able to make resistance against the *Tartars* which border upon him, he removed the Court from *Nankim* and planted it here. The people are lesse ingenious, as commonly all Northern people are, but more apt for labour and warre.

The soyle is very dry, and favourable for health, but barren of fruits for the common sustenance: But this want is supplyed by that generall prerogative of Courts which draw all to them, and overcome in this the proper nature of the place. It hath Maiz, Wheate, and little Rice, only for the use of the people of the Palace, which is very numerous, the *Mandarines* and Souldiers being many thousands. The King keepeth in those rivers a thousand vessels, flat-bottom'd by reason of the shallownesse of the water, which only serve for the bringing of victualls to Court; which they lade in the South: And in *Nankim* there is sownen a certaine Rice for the King in particular, of such a quality, that being sodde in water, without any other addition it maketh a very favoury dish.

The City is not so big as *Nankim*, but in that presse of people much exceedeth it; in a word, it is like the Court of so powerfull a Prince. The walls

walls are broad enough for twelve horses to go abreast; They are guarded night and day, as well in time of peace, as if there were warre. At every gate they keep a continual watch, which is the profit of the *Eunuchs*, which the Queen alloweth them for their wages; and they make good store of crownes of this exercise: For all thosse which enter, and bring any thing with them, pay toll; and those of *Cantone* are used with most rigour, just like *Spaniards* in a french Inne: I know not the reason of this, but only a certaine indignation, which they have against them.

The Magistrates of this Court are quite contrary to those of other crownes, and Commonwealths of the world, and are therefore a patterne of that uprightnesse, which ought to be found in all: I meane, concerning the pompe and equipage of their persons, which is very moderate. They are not allowed to be carried in a Sedan, or Chaire, unlesse it be some few of more particular dignity: The greatest part ride on horse-back, and because they are ill horsemen, their horses are guided by two servants, that go by them, one on each side the horse, lefft their master should fall.

Each Judge of a Village, without the precincts of the Court, use more state, than the most eminent Ministers in the Court: They walke in the streets with their faces cover'd, as well by reason of the dust, which is very much, as also for convenience, and to avoid both expence and ceremony with the *Mandarines*; for not being knowne, they dissemble, as if they law them not, and make no stay, to verify that *Axiome*, that where one is least knowne, there is more pleasure and convenience to be enjoyed.

The cold, which this Countrie suffereth, is much greater than could be expected from the Latitude of 40. degrees. The rivers and lakes are so hard frozen over, that they drive Carts over them without any danger; they make use of stoves, that are more convenient than ours, and wast not so much fewell, conveighing the heate by pipes laid under ground; and so within doores enjoy a pleasent spring in the heart of winter. The same heate supplieth also the absence of the sun, and by meanes thereof the trees are clothed with leaves and flowers before their time.

In the Court we have a faire Church, built after the fashion of *Europe*, and a house wherein reside 4 fathers by licence from the King, and are in much esteeme with all the Magistrates.

Besides the Churches in all the places we have already spoken of, (the greater part whereof are large Cities,) there are also many other habitations of Christians, which have their Oratories, which are visited by us at set times, Catechizing and Baptizing the new Christians, conferring and administering the Holy Sacraments to the others.

The sixt and last Province is *Leastong* the Northern bound of that Kingdome; it is famous for a roote which it produceth of so high esteeme, that at my departure from thence it was fold for twice the weight in silver. It is so excellent a medicine, that if thosse which are in health doe take it, it augments their strength and vigour, and if it be given to a sick person it doth marvellously comfort and warme him: it is called *Ginseng*. This Province being the frontie next *Tartarium*, is much wasted, and is in part possessed by the *Tartars*: here is seen that famous wall so much talked

talked off, which runneth nine hundred miles in length, with more reputation than effect : for besides that its owne greatnesse and extant is enough to make it ruinous, the enemy hath now reduced it to a miserable condition.

CHAP. 4.

Of the persons of the Chineses : of their nature, wit and inclination.

THe people of *China* are, white, like us in *Europe*; although in the Province of *Cantone*, lying something within the Tropick they are of something a browner colour, and particularly in the Islands that lie neere the maine land. And because those which come hither are only such as are borderers upon *Macao* (the Centre of those Islands) some have been perfwaded that there were not in all that Kingdome any people very white : but it is certaine, that excepting the confines of *Cantone*, where they are something brown, the rest are all white; not unlike to the whitenesse of the people of *Europe*; and by how much the more Northward the one goeth, by so much the more (as is usually seen) is the whitenesse the greater.

They suffer the haire of their heads to grow as long as it will, both men and women. They are generally all black-haired ; hence cometh that name, by which this Kingdome is called among other Nations the King-name, of the black-hair'd people : they have also black eyes, which are very little, little noses, and neither large, nor high ones, as among us ; which forme they like not, accounting it a deformity. They have but little beard for the most part, nor doe they care to have much, although some of them have so. They delight to have it black, which is the most ordinary colour ; although some few have red beards; which although it be not abhorred by all as among the *Thebanes*, yet it is not esteemed or liked among them by any. They clipp not their beard, letting it grow according to nature. They will be more troubled to loose one haire of their head, then all the haire of their face. They doe also, in neatnesse and curiosenesse about their haire, exceed all other Nations. They have for this purpose many Barbers, of whom it may properly be said, that they never usurp that name ; it being derived from the beard, which they never touch ; employing all their diligence and art in kembing and cleansing the head.

The young children are better proportioned, and have a more pleasing Symmetry of beauty than the rest : and this more particularly in the Southern Provinces. But some places have the advantage in this above others ; as in the Province of *Nankin*, the City of *Nanchu*, where the women are esteemed to have the preheminence of all others in beauty ; as formerly in *Portugall*, those of the Towne of *Guimaraes*, from hence the rich men and the Magistrates provide themselves with Concubines: and so

CHAP. 4.

The History of CHINA.

this gift of nature cometh to be of greater esteeme for their sakes, who are the great men of the world. As their age beginneth to decline, from 25 to 30 years old, they loose not only much of the livelinesse of their colour, but also of the Symmetry and proportion of their shape: so that ordinarily they become ill-favoured. The disposition of their body is good ; their strength vigorous, and they are great pains-takers : hence it cometh, that their land, which is very good, is by art brought to be much more fruitfull; and if there be any which is not good, although it be never so little (there being not a foot of ground, which is unemployed) by force of industry they bring it at length to be fruitfull.

As I passed by *Honam*, I saw one ploughing with a plough of 3 Irons, or plough-sheares, so that at one bout he made 3 furrows : and because the ground was good for that feed, which we call here *Feazols* or Kidney-beanes, this feed was put as it were, in a bushel, or square dish fastened upon the upper part of the plough, in such manner, that with the motion thereof the Beanes were gently scattered upon the earth as corne falleth upon the Millstone, at the mooving of the Mil-hopper; so at the same time the land is plowed & sown with hopes of a future crop. Wheat, Barley and Maiz they sow as we do, & it is very ordinary for one that driveth a beast laden, to carry a load himself, that none might want employment.

They are watchfull to make their advantage of every thing, not suffering any thing to be lost, how unprofitable soever it seemeth : you may meet often upon a river many vessels of considerable burthen, laden only with weeks for lamps, made of the pith of rushes, taken out with a great facility and dexterite, others, which carry nothing else but paper (give me leave to relate it, because it is a notable argument of the Providence and application, which they make in the use of all things) for cleanliness in their houses of office. This is sold in the streets as well as in shops, and may in no manner have any thing written upon it; for if it have any letters upon it, it is among them accounted sacrilege to employ it to that use. But as the number of the people is so great, there are not wanting also among them idle persons and vagabonds, a common and irremediable plague.

They are naturally inclined to be Merchants, and it is incredible, the Traffick which they make, not only from one Province to another, with very great profit (so that they which transport *Porsellane* within their own Kingdom, although they sell it but from one Province to another, gaine thirty per Cent. twice a year) but even in the same City : For almost whatsoever is found in the shoppes, is sold in the streets in a lesser quantity, employing in this trade even to little children, as far as they are able, as selling fruit, herbs, wash-bals, and such like things.

The rich Merchants are of good credit, and very punctuall, (as the Portugesses have had experience for many yeates together,) but their way of bargaining is fuller of craft, and subtily, than is to be found any where else in the world: for whereas strangers are not allowed to enter into the Kingdom, they are all necessitated to treat with the Chineses in this manner. First they agree about the quality of the commodity, which each desirer whether it be gold, Silk, or *Porcellane*, or any thing else

else, when they are agreed of the price, presently the *Portugiese* config-
neth to him a summe of mony, as of 15. or 20. thousand, (or more)
Crownes. Then the *Chinese* goeth with this money to such parts of the
Kingdome where the commoditie may be had, which the other desireth,
and returneth with it to *Cantone*, where the *Portuguese* stayeth expecting
him. This manner of merchandisng was practised for many years with-
out any fraud ; but a little while since there hath not been wanting some
who have used deceit therein. And at this day the credit thereof is di-
minished ; as I beleeve, through the fault of both Nations.

Nevertheless, the nature of the people and inclination of the whole
nation, as well in those who sell, as those who buy, is much inclined to
guile and deceit, which they put in execution with admirable subtletie.
They will take the flesh from off the breast of a partridge, and fill up the
hollow place with some other thing, and stich up the cut, whence it was
taken out, and all with so much maffery and skill, that if the buyer be not
an *Argus*, (and if he were, he shall finde no remedy) in stead of a par-
tridge, he shall buy nothing but feathers and bones. Amongst true Gam-
mons of Bacon they will foist in others made of wood, but so like, that
they will easily deceive the sight for good ones. It is an ordinary thing to
fat up an old horse, and sell him for a young one ; and what is more, to
paint him over with beautifull spots, so well done, as if they were naturall,
choosing for the time of sale, the doubtfull light of the day towards the
dusk of the evening, that the deceit may be the hardlier discovered :
This cheate was put upon one in *Macao*, who notwithstanding was an ex-
perienced buyer, and of good judgement.

The bewitching art of extracting the elements and principles from
barren stones and hardef mineralls, which is spread through all parts of
the universe, hath gain'd many practitioners in *China* ; They are passionately
addicted to the art of *Alchimy*, with this opinion, that he that hath the
art of making silver, is in the way to find the receipt of prolonging life, unto extream old age. And how long will men give themselves over to
this fond perswasion, deceived with a vaine hope of obtaining these two
things, so much desired, so uncertaine ? Many take great paines in this art,
although they lose much and gaine little ; contrary to that which suc-
ceeds in all other trades, which is, to gaine much out of a little. Finally, ei-
ther these men deceive themselves, or find themselves deceived by the
professours of this science, who are often uncertaine and varying in their
Maximes, which ought to be reall and constant ; so that the event is alwaies
dangerous and uncertaine. Many there are, which are followers of it,
hoping to make gaine by their deceit, because they dare not rely upon the
certainty of their art.

There was one of these, which in *Pekim* offered himselfe to a Magistrate,
promising him great matters from his art. Covetous persons are ordi-
narily credulous. He furnisht him with materialls to make his operation, a-
mongst which the other secretly conveyed a piece of silver, which he
privily carryed about him to that intent, the ignorant Magistrate was well
pleased with the product of it, he seeming to him a true sonne of art. Then
the work-man faining to have great occasion to goe to another place,
desired

desired leave of him for some dayes, which the Magistrate with much a-
doe consented to, because his covetous desire, being inflamed by that ex-
periment, could not brooke a long absence ; But the *Alchymist*, (that used
to fish in the silver seas of *Hydropicall* covetousnesse with those deceitful
nets, with which he long entertained their hopes, but brought them in
no profit) was absent three whole yeares: at the end of which being return-
ed to *Pekim*, he maketh, as if he knew not the house of this his friend,
though he often passed by the doore ; but being discovered by the Ma-
gistrate, he calls him in ; who still persisteth in his dissimulation of not
knowing him. The Magistrate questions him concerning the art, where-
of he had made him an experimt : The other confessed, that he knew
the art, but did not remember to have practised it in that place, alledging
for his excuse, that as he had done it in many places, so he could not re-
member them all. But without much intreatie, promised to doe it againe,
to that intent the Magistrate giveth him 500. crownes to furnish him with
a sufficient store of materials : Then the *Alchymist*, without asking leave
as before, conveyeth himselfe away, and never appeareth more. But
for all these experiences there are still enough, which doe hunt after this
art.

But returning to our *Chineses*, they are Affable, courteous, and of good
conversation : and therefore in this particular our men are not to be be-
lieved, which dwell only in *Macao* and *Cantone*, because they are there, as
it were, in a continuall warr, by reason of the daily contracts and conten-
tions, which are betwixt the servants of the *Portugesses* and *Chineses*, be-
sides buying and selling produceth frequent disgusts, and if those of *Ma-
cao* do bear with them, because they cannot help it, it is alwayes with
hope to be paid with interest from those of *Cantone*, when they come
thither by occasion of the faires : and so there cannot be a friendly and
just traffick betwixt them, but they do treat one another almost like ene-
mies.

But in the other Provinces and innermost parts of the Kingdom, as we
have said, they converse with us with so much respect and *decorum*, that
in all meetings with them they give us the first place, upon no other pre-
tence, but that we are strangers, and as they call us *Guests* of a remote *Cli-
mate*. In cases of necessity, (which we have many times proved) they
will not fail to lend us what we aske, although it be more worth than the
pawnes we give them ; and that without interest.

I am sure there cannot be a worser sort of people, than is found in their
prisons, for thither the dregs of the whole Common-wealth are drained,
neverthelasse, we have found courtesy at the hands of those wretches,
who in such places use to be very inhumane. Vpon occasion of the perse-
cution which we suffered in the year 1616. our fathers found in those pris-
ons much respect and correspondence, and when the Officers of the pris-
on for feare of the Tyrant, did bind them and use them harshly : it was al-
waies with a great resentment of the prisoners, who not enduring to see
them straighned with manacles upon their wrists, did make them wider
for them by burning them (their manacles being made of wood) with
hot irons.

taketh off, which runneth nine hundred miles in length, with more reputation than effect: for besides that its owne greatness and extenſe is enough to make it famous, the enemy hath now reduced it to a miserable condition.

C H A P. 4.

Of the persons of the Chineses: of their nature, wit and inclination.

THe people of *China* are, white, like us in *Europe*; although in the Province of *Cantone*, lying something within the Tropick they are of something a browner colour, and particularly in the Islands that lie neare the maine land. And because those which come hither are only such as are borderers upon *Macao* (the Centre of those Islands) some have been perfwaded that there were not in all that Kingdome any people very white: but it is certaine, that excepting the confines of *Cantone*, where they are something brown, the rest are all white, not unlike to the whitenesse of the people of *Europe*; and by how much the more Northward one goeth, by so much the more (as is usually seen) is the whitenesse the greater.

They suffer the haire of their heads to grow as long as it will, both men and women. They are generally all black-haired; hence cometh that name, by which this Kingdome is called among other Nations the Kingdome of the black-hair'd people: they have also black eyes, which are very little, little noſes, and neither large, nor high ones, as among us; which forme they like not, accounting it a deformity. They have but little beard for the most part, nor doe they care to have much, although ſome of them have ſo. They delight to have it black, which is the moſt ordinary colour; although ſome few have red beards; which although it be not abhorred by all as among the *Thebanes*, yet it is not eſteemed or liked among them by any. They clippe not their beard, letting it grow according to nature. They will be more troubled to loſe one haire of their head, then all the haire of their face: They doe alſo, in neatnesſe and curiouſnesſe about their haire, exceed all other Nations. They have for this purpoſe many Barbers, of whom it may properly be ſaid, that they uſurp that name; it being derived from the beard, which they never touch; employing all their diligence and art in kembing and cleaſing the head.

The young children are better proportioned, and have a more pleasing Symmetry of beauty than the reſt: and this more particularly in the Southern Provinces. But ſome places have the advantage in this above others; as in the Province of *Nankin*, the City of *Nancheu*, where the women are eſteemed to have the preheminence of all others in beauty; as formerly in *Portugal*, thoſe of the Towne of *Guimaraes*, from hence the rich men and the Magistrates provide themſelves with Concubines: and ſo

this

thought of nature cometh to be of greater eſteeme for their ſakes, who are the great men of the world. As their age beginneth to decline, from 25 to 35 years old, they loole not only much of the liveliness of their colour, but alſo of the Symmetry and proportion of their ſhape: ſo that ordinarily they become ill-favoured. The diſposition of their body is good; their strength vigorous, and they are great pains-takers: hence it cometh, that their land, which is very good, is by art brought to be much more fruitfull; and if there be any which is not good, althoſh it be never ſo little (there being not a foot of ground, which is unemployed) by force of industry they bring it at length to be fruitfull.

As I paſſed by *Honum*, I ſaw one ploughing with a plough of 3 Irons, or plough-sheares, ſo that at one bout he made 3 furrows: and because the ground was good for that ſeed, which we call here *Feazols* or Kidney-beanes, this ſeed was put as it were, in a bushel, or ſquare dish fastened up-on the upper part of the plough, in ſuch manner, that with the motion thereof the Beanes were gently scattered upon the earth as corne falleth upon the Milſtone, at the mooving of the Mil-hopper; ſo at the ſame time the land is plowed & ſown with hopes of a future crop. Wheate, Barley and Maiz they ſow as we do; & it is very ordinary for one that driveth a beast laden, to carry a load himſelf, that none might want employment.

They are watchfull to make their advantage of every thing, not ſuffering any thing to be loſt, how unprofitable everit it feemeth: you may meet often upon a river many vessels of conſiderable burthen, laden only with weeks for lamps, made of the pith of rushes, taken out with a great facility and dexteritie; others, which carry nothing elſe but paper (giue me leaue to relate it, because it is a notable argument of the Providence and application, which they make in the uſe of all things) for cleanliness in their houses of office. This is ſold in the ſtreets as well as in ſhops, and may in no manner have any thing written upon it; for if it have any letters upon it, it is among them accounted ſacriledge to employ it to that uſe. But as the number of the people is ſo great, there are not wanting alſo among them idle persons and vagabonds, a common and irremediable plague,

They are naturally inclined to be Merchants, and it is incrediblē, the Traffick which they make, not only from one Province to another, with very great profit (ſo that they which transport *Porcellane* within their own Kingdome, althoſh they ſell it but from one Province to another, gaue thirty per Cent. twice a year) but even in the ſame City: For almoſt whatſoever is found in the ſhoppes, is ſold in the ſtreets in a leſſer quantity, employing in this trade even to little children, as far as they are able, as ſelling fruit, herbs, wash-bals, and ſuch like things.

The rich Merchants are of good credit, and very punctuall, (as the Portugheſſes have had experience for many yeareſ together,) but their way of bargaining is fuller of craft, and subtilitie, than is to be found any where elſe in the world: for whereas ſtrangers are not allowed to enter into the Kingdome, they are all neceſſitated to treat with the Chineſes in this manner. First they agree about the quality of the commodity, which each deſireth whether it be gold, ſilk, or *Porcellane*, or any thing elſe

else; when they are agreed of the price, presently the Portugheſe config-
neth to him a ſumme of mony, as of 15. or 20. thouſand, (or more)
Crownes. Then the Chineſe goeth with this money to ſuch parts of the
Kingdome where the commoditie may be had, which the other deſireth,
and returneth with it to Cantone, where the Portugeſe ſtayeth expecting
him. This manner of merchandifing was praefteſed for many yeares without
any fraud; but a little while ſince there hath not been wanting ſome
who have uſed deceit therein. And at this day the credit thereof is di-
minished; as I beleue, through the fault of both Nations.

Nevertheleſſe, the nature of the people and inclination of the whole
nation, as well in thoſe who ſell, as thoſe who buy, is much inclined to
guile and deceit, which they put in execution with admirable lubtieſte. They will take the flesh from off the breast of a partridge, and fill up the hollow place with ſome other thing, and ſtitch up the cut, whence it was
taken out, and all with ſo much maſtery and ſkill, that if the buyer be not
an Argus, (and if he were, he ſhall finde no remedy) in ſtead of a par-
tridge, he ſhall buy nothing but feathers and bones. Amongſt true Gam-
mons of Bacon they will foift in others made of wood, but ſo like, that
they will eaſily deceiue the fight for good ones. It is an ordinary thing to
fat up an old horse, and ſell him for a young one; and what is more, to
paint him over with beautilfull ſpots, ſo well done, as if they were naturall,
chooſing for the time of ſale, the doubtfull light of the day towards the
dusk of the evening, that the deceit may be the hardlier diſcovered: This cheare was put upon one in Macao, who notwithstanding was an ex-
perienced buyer, and of good judgement.

The bewitching art of extracting the elements and principles from
barren ſtones and hardeſt mineraſls, which is ſpread through all parts of
the univerſe, hath gained many practitioners in China; They are paſionat-
ly addiicted to the art of Alchimy, with this opinion, that he that hath the
art of making ſilver, is in the way to find the receit of prolonging life, unto extream old age. And how long will men give themſelves over to
this fond perfwafion, deceived with a vaine hope of obtaining theſe two
things, ſo much deſired, ſo uncertaine? Many take great paines in this art,
although they loſe much and gaine little; contrary to that which fu-
cceeds in all other trades, which is, to gaine much out of a little. Finally, ei-
ther theſe men deceiue themſelves, or find themſelves deceiued by the
profefſours of this ſcience, who are often uncertaine and varying in their
Maximes, which ought to be reall and conſtant, ſo that the event is alwaies
dangerous and uncertaine. Many there are, which are followers of it,
hoping to make gaine by their deceit, because they dare not rely upon the
certainty of their art.

There was one of theſe, which in Pekim offered himſelfe to a Magiſtrate, promiſing him great matters from his art. Covetous persons are ordinarilie credulous. He furniſheth him with materials to make his operation, amongſt which the other ſecretly conveyed a piece of ſilver, which he priuily carried about him to that intent, the ignorant Magiſtrate was well
pleaſed with the product of it, he ſeeming to him a true ſonne of art. Then
the work-man faſtning to have great occaſion to goe to another place, deſired

deſired leave of him for ſome daies, which the Magiſtrate with much a-
doe conſented to, because his covetous deſire, being inflamed by that ex-
periment, could not brooke a long abſence; But the Alchymyſt, (that uſed
to fish in the ſilver ſeaſ of Hydropicall covetouſneſſe with thole deceiuitfull
nets, with which he long entertained their hopes, but brought them in
no profit) was abſent three whole yeares: at the end of which being re-
turned to Pekim, he maketh, as if he knew not the houſe of this his friend,
though he often paſſed by the doore, but being diſcovered by the Ma-
giſtrate, he calls him in; who ſtill perſiſteth in his diſsimulaſon of not
knowing him. The Magiſtrate queſtions him concerning the art, where-
of he had made him an experiment: The other confeſſed, that he knew
the art, but did not remember to have praefteſed it in that place, alledging
for his excuse, that as he had done it in many places, ſo he could not re-
membeſt them all. But without much iſtracie, promised to doe it againe,
to that intent the Magiſtrate giueſt him 500. crownes to furniſh him with
a ſufficient ſtore of materials: Then the Alchymyſt, without asking leave
as before, conveyceth himſelfe away, and never appeareth more. But
for all theſe expeſiences there are ſtill enough, which doe hunt after this
art.

But returning to our Chineſes; they are Affable, courteous, and of good
converſation: and therefore in this paricular our men are not to be be-
lieved, which dwel only in Macao and Cantone, because they are there, as
it were, in a continuall war, by reaſon of the daily contracts and conten-
tions, which are betwixt the ſervants of the Portugeſes and Chineſes, be-
ſides buying and ſeiling produceth frequent diſgufis; and if thofe of Ma-
cao do beare with them, because they cannot help it, it is alwaies with
hope to be paid with iſterest from thoſe of Cantone, when they come
thither by occaſion of the faires: and ſo there cannot be a friendly and
juſt traffick betwixt them, but they do treat one another almost like ene-
mies.

But in the ether Provinces and innermoſt parts of the Kingdom, as we
have ſaid, they conuerſe with us with ſo much respect and decorum, that
in all meetings with them they give us the firſt place, upon no other pre-
tence, but that we are ſtrangers, and as they call us Guests of a remote Cli-
mate. In caſes of neceſſity, (which we have many times proved) they
will not fail to lend us what we aſke, although it be more worth than the
paunies we give them; and that without iſterest.

I am ſure there cannot be a worſer ſort of people, than is found in their
priſons, for thither the dregs of the whole Common-wealth are drained,
nevertheleſſe, we have found courtesie at the hands of thoſe wretches,
who in ſuch places uſe to be very inhumane. Vpon occaſion of the per-
ſecution which we ſuffered in the year 1616. our fathers found in thoſe pri-
ſons muclie respect and correfpondence, and when the Officers of the pri-
ſon for ſeaſe of the Tyrant, did bind them and uſe them harshly: it was al-
waies with a great reſentment of the priſoners, who not enduring to ſee
them ſtreightned with manacles upon their wrists, did make them wider
for them by burniſhing them (their manacles being made of wood) with
hot irons.

After a long time, these fathers being to be released from one of these prisons, the prisoners consulted among themselves how to shew them some courtesie : and collecting what they were able, they entertained them with a banquet, which was more acceptable to the fathers, to see so much Humanity and kindenesse towards strangers among Pagans, which were kept in that place, for the chaffisement of their crimes and ill manners, than for the good treatment they received. Thus much will sufficiently demonstrate the naturall courtesie and civility of this Nation.

Among them, all acts of cruelty are much abhorred ; wherefore among their punishments there is not used that ordinary inhumanitie and severity, which is among us, as Quartering ; Tearing with pincers ; dragging with horses ; and racking. He that deserveth death, is either beheaded, or strangled.

In the yeare 1614. in the City of *Nankim*, an ordinary fellow with more than ordinary insolence did aspire to the *Empire*. He had already listed much people, and distributed offices among them, giving order, to cut off the heads of all the *Mandarines* in one day appointed for their *Rendez vous*. When the conspiracy was discovered by a male-content, that was infatuated with his allotment, there was, upon this occasion, imprison'd almost an infinite company of people, which were discover'd by the Tyrants own book, wherein he kept a list of the conspiratorious : the king having notice of it, gave speedy order, that no more should be imprisoned : by a second order he commandeth, that only thirty of the most guilty should remaine in prison for the space of 30. daies with their heads in the stocks, and that at the end of 30. daies, whosoever of them remained alive should not be put to death. (There escaped only two of them;) which is strange, that for so enormous a wickednesse, there was appointed no greater punishment.

When many are condemned to die, they are kept in prison till the vi-sitor of the Province calleth them before him ; and perusing the list of them he appointeth 5, 6. or 7. of them to be executed : if he exceederh this number, they give him the name of *Cruell* : The rest are sent back to prison.

They are inclined to vertue ; I doe not say they are exempt from vices, proper to all Pagans, and indeed to all Mortals ; But that they esteeme those, which make profession of vertue, and particularly of some vertues, which are despised by other *Gentiles* ; as, Humility, Virginity, Chastity ; and this last is in such esteemme, that if a maiden, or young widow, lead a single life with that *Caution* and other vertues requisite to it, they are wont to erect *Trium-phall Arches* to them, and celebrate their memorie with publick and magnificent prayses and *panegyricks*.

Their manner of *entertainment* and *complements* are so *Ceremonious*, that there seemes to be no end of them ; and are more proper for *divine worship*, than humane conversation. This is to be understood of their visites, and their meetings and encounters, where respect is to be shewen : for amongst kindred and friends they treat one another more familiarly. They are so composed in their garb, and wary in their words, that nothing can cause an open difference betwixt persons

persons of quality one against the other, although both of them may bear a secret spleen and grudging. Hence it is, that capital enemies may be seen together at *Banquets*, or other publick meetings without the least shew of enmity, dissembling it dexterously, and courageously under the pretences of civility and honour.

They magnifie very freely and readily whatsoever is virtuous in the Actions of their neighbours, courageously beating down that emulation, which in almost all other nations suffereth none to be pleased with any but themselves. When they see any thing which cometh from *Europe*, although there be in it little art or ingenuity, it is by them commended with singular applause, and many times with this expreſſion, O, say they, *These people are not like to us, but and un-ingenious*. And sometimes of manufactures made in their own Kingdom, with which by reaſon of the vastneſſe thereof, they are unacquainted, they will ſay, that they were not made there, but brought from *Europe*. A modesty indeed worthy to be envied, and ſo much the more because it is ſeen in a people that exceed many others in their abilities, to the shame of thoſe Nations, which have no eyes to ſee, but ſuch as are infected with the diſparagement of what they behold.

They are not leſſe ingenious *Mechanicks*, than the *Manufactures*, which come from thence, ſhew them to be, althoſh all which come, are not made by the beſt Masters.

They are very excellent in works of *Ivory*, *Ebony* and *Amber*, especially in Ear-Jewels, pendants, and gallantries of Gold and Silver, for the ornament of women. They make chaines to admiration. There was one brought from thence to *Goa*, which conſifting of 300 links, weighed not 3 ounces of go'd, and the work was ſo fine and ſmall, that the links were hardly to be discerned. They have altogether relinquished to *Europe* to be ſerved in plate, there being ſcarce found among them a vessel of Silver of a conſiderable bignesse, no not in the *Emperors palace*, being content to eat in *Porcellane*, which is the only vessel in the world for neat and delightfull cleanliness. There Gold-thread is of leſſe weight and worth than ours; they have a way of twisting of it about paper, which maketh it ſeam, as if it were right and maffe, and is an admirable Artifice.

The workmanſhip of *Europe*, which they moſt admired, were our clocks; but now they make of them ſuch as are ſet upon tables, very good ones, and will be able to do the like in ſinal ones, if the price of them therē did equall ours. Although they make ſome things, whose price would be exceilive if we ſhould caufe them to be made here. Notwithſtanding in the generall we do much exceed them in *manufactures* and *mechanick Arts*, except it be in that fame *Charam*, which is indeed a ſingular Artifice.

It cannot be denied, but that they are a people of an admirble Acutenesse, ſo that that may be worthily appropriated to them, that *Aristotle* ſo freely beſtoweth upon all the people of *Asia*; ſaying, that *Asia* exceeded *Europe* in ingenuity, but was exceeded by *Europe* in valour; this beeing a thing ſo approved to us by experience.

There are many, which even to this day do call the *Chineſes*, *Barbarians*,

ans as if they spake of the *Negroes* of *Guynea*, or the *Tapuyi* of *Brafle*. I have blusht to hear some stile them so, having been taught the contrary by many years travels among them. Although the fame and manufactures of *China* are sufficient to teach it us; it beeing now many years that we have heard the one, and seen the other. Tis a great shame truly: but although in this relation there are many things, which might satisfie us concerning the subtlety of their wit, yet I wil give you one example in this following case:

A certain *Chauken*, (that is, a visitour of a Province, one of the most important *Employments* of the Kingdom) receiving of his visits, after a few daies were over, shut up his gates, and refused to admit any futher their businesse or visits; pretending for his excuse, that he was sick. This accident being divulged; a certain *Mandarine*, a friend of his, began to be much troubled at it; and with much ado obtained leave to speak with him. When he was admitted, he gave him notice of the discontent, that was in the City, by reason that busynesses were not dispatched: the other put him off with the same excuse of his sickness: I see no signes of it, replied his friend; but if your *Lordship* will be pleased to tell me the true caufe, I will serue you in it, to my utmost power, conformable to that affection I bear you in my heart: know then, replied the *Visitour*, They have stollen the Kings seale out of the Cabinet where it used to be kept, leaving it locked, as if it had not been touched; so that if I would give audience, I have not where withall to seale dispatches. If I should discover my negligence in the losse of the seale I shall loole, you know, both my *Government* and my life; so that I know not what to do, unless it be to stand in suspence, as I do, which is but little avail to me, being more sensible than the people themselves, of this delay of justice. Well perceived the *Mandarine* how terrible the occasion of his retirement was; but presently making use of the quicknes of his wit, asked him if he had never an enemy in that City: he answered him, yes; and that it was the chief Officer of that City, that is the *Chifu* or governour, which of a long time had borne a concealed malice against him. Away then, quoth the *Mandarine*, in great haft, let your *Lordship* command that all your goods be removed to the innermost part of the palace, and let them set fire on the empty part, and call out for help to quench the fire: to which the governour must of necessity repair with the first, it being one of the principall duties of his office. As soon as you see him among the people, call out to him aloud, and consigne to him the *Cabinet*, thus shut as it is; that it may be secured in his possession from the danger of the fire: for if it be he which hath caused the seale to be stollen, he will put it in his place again, when he restores you the cabinet; if it be not he, your *Lordship* shall lay the fault upon him for having so ill kept it; and your *Lordship* shall not only be freed from this danger, but also revenged of your enemie. The visitour followed his counsel, and it succeeded so well, that the next morning, after the night this fire was, the governour brought him the seale in the cabinet; both of them concealing each others fault, equally complying for the conservation of both. Now if after this example the *Chineſſes* must passe for *Barbarians* as those would have it, who have forced me to relate this story,

story, it must be upon the same account, on which others have said as much of *Moses*.

CHAP. 5.

Of the manner of their habit.

The materials, of which they make severall sorts of stoffs and cloaths for the service of their persons, as cloathing, Beds, and other furniture of their houses, are wooll, convale, (for they have no other sort of linnen as I have formerly hinted) silk and cotton: of all which they have great abundance. Two hundred years before Christ they used garments with short sleeves, such as the *Giapponeses* use at this day; who are descended of them, and still conserve this ancient habit. This manner of garment continued here, untill the raign of *Hoan*: in the time of this King, who is much renowned amongst them, (about 400 years after Christ,) that habit was altered, as well in the people, as the Officers, to that fashion which is worn at this day: and is the very same throughout the whole Kingdom, although it consist of so many and so large Provinces: nor can it be altered (no more than any other notable custome among them) without the Kings particular Order. For these people, which we call *Barbarians*, have very well understood, that the changing of fashions and customes in a Nation for those of strange Countries, is as it were, a presage that that Country will at length be brought into subjection to that other, of whose fashions and manners they are so enamoured: and we might for prooef hereof, (if there were occasion) name some particular Countries among us.

These fashioned garments have been conserved for so many yeares; and reach from the neck to the feet, being all open before; These are for their under garments, and are made for to sit closer to their bodies. Their upper garments are large and wider in compasse. And because they use no buttons, they lap them before, one side over another, as our *Clergie* men doe their *Caffocks*. Their sleeves are very wide, and the whole garment without any trimming. A piece of white Taffatie of the length of ones hand serveth them for a band; when it is foule, they take it off, and put on another. This is only to be understood of the *Literati*, or learned men, and the people of quality; for the common sort of people are not suffered to weare it.

The young men weare indifferently all sorts of colours; but the *Ancient* men do weare alwaies the most modest. The common people for the most part are cloathed in black; as all sorts of servants, who are bound not to alter that colour.

Those who are *Governours*, or have *Governed*, upon occasion of *Feasts*, do weare garments of the finest red. The rich men change their garments at all the 4 seasons of the year; and the inferiour sort, (although poore) twice a year, at winter and summer: and upon this occasion many pawn

that

that garment, which they weare in one season to furnish themselves with a garment for the next.

Because their haire is their chiefe gallantrie, we will speak here a word or two concerning it. Their youth, till seventeen years of age, leave the shortest part of their haire hanging loose, the other they combe back to the top of their head; where they tie it up in a knot. After that, age they weare a net of horse-haire, which is like unto our Cawles, under which they gather up all their haire, not suffering one haire to hang out: on the top of this they all weare caps; the *Literati* square caps, the rest of the people, round: they are all made of silk, or else of horf-haire, which by reason of the workmanship come often to be more costly than the other. They are alwaies to be black, unlesse it be in the winter, when they weare them of felt, & are always gray, or else of the naturall colour of the wooll. At the first time any one putteth on his Cawle, it is done with a particular solemnite, as we were wont anciently, at the first putting on of the cloake or sword. For shoes, they know no other materials, but silk of all sorts and colours, for the rich; and for the poore, cotton: they are differing from ours in shape, and in the cost, which is bestowed upon them, having many little works wrought on them with the needle. Skins are used only for bootes, which are rarely seen there. The richer and better sort of the people weare hose of *Damask* or *Sattin*, or any sort of white silk; the rest of white *Cotton*. They weare breeches generally, both men and women. This is the habit of this ample Kingdome, being as large almost as all *Europe*, which hardly keepeth constant to its owne fashions, in any of its smalles Provinces.

The women are decently habited with the same coates, (if I may so call them) which the men use; wearing them close about their necks. Even the ordinary sort of women are very curious in dressing their heads, adorning their haire with flowers, as well naturall as artificiall; having in this art a competition with nature; and with the varietie of colours, the forme and figure of them they do as happily deceive the eyes of the beholders, as the grapes of *Zuxes*, did the sparrows; or to expresse it better, as the curtaine of *Parrhasius* deceived *Zuxes*.

The women of the better quality use gold and silver, the *Courtefans*, or *publique* women are not suffered to weare them; and it is a distinction to know them by, what they are, that they are not allowed to weare any ornament on their heads (contrary to the custome of other Countries) nor to have their houses within the walls. The rest of their under-garments are the same both in men, and women, only their shoes are so little, that one might reasonably doubt, whether so small feete could belong to a humane body growen to a full stature: The reaon of this is, that from their very infancy they swathe their childrens feet, so streightning them to hinder their growth; and not (as we say in *Europe*) because they are not suffered to goe: and although it be the common opinion, that it is a great part of beauty to have little feet, yet the more understanding *Chineses* do hold this effeminacy to be a very great folly. It tooke its originall from one of their Queenes, who having ill-shapen feet, to mend that naturall defect, did swathe them, to bring them to a better forme: so that, what was necessity

necessarie in her (if it may be called a necessarie, to mend such feet, as might have served well enough without it) it came to be a gallantrie in all women by imitation of her: so much ought *Princes* to avoid the making of themselves *Authors* of ridiculous novelties.

The retirement of the women is very great. There is not a woman to be seen in the streets, although in years; or never so blameleffe in her life; neither are men suffered to visite them at their houses. That part of the house where they inhabit is, as it were, a sacred place, for their sakes. It is enough to tell any one who entereth unwillingly, *That there are women there*, to make him stop presently.

The men-servants may enter thither only while they are *little boyes*. Into the very chamber where they are, not so much as their kindred, are allowed to come, unlesse they be the younger brethren of the husband, of very small age; no not the husbands father, with so much punctualtie, that if upon some particular occasion he would chastife his son, (for although they are married, their fathers do chastife them, if they see cause) he retireth prently to his wives apartment, which is an inviolable *Sanc-tuary*; the father being not to enter thither. If the women go out to visite their parents, they are carried in *Sedans close shut*; and this is the custome of all their women, even to those of the most ordinary *qualtie*. If they go on pilgrimage to any of their *Idolls*, and that it be necessary, that they go part of the way on foot, they cover their faces with a vayle. If they go by water in the Barks with their Parents and kindred (as I saw once above 200. upon occasion of a *Pilgrimage*) they passe one before another without speaking a word; beleeving that the least overture that women give to the conversation of men is a large gate opened to the danger of their honour. This, which may be counted a harsh *Strictnesse*, is turned into a pleasaunt *Sweetnesse* by custome, (which maketh all things easie) as well for their repose, as for the peace and concord of the family.

Notwithstanding in so large a Country as *China*, this custome cannot equally be observed every where; so that in some parts, as I have above mentioned, the ordinary women go abroad as among us, but the women of quality alwayes observe that stile of retirednesse.

C H A P. 6.

Of their Language and Letters.

*T*HE language which is used in *China* is of so great Antiquity, that many beleevit to be one of the 72. which were at the Tower of *Babel*. At least it is manifest by their books, that it is more than 3700. years in use among them. Is is various and different, because there are diverse Kingdoms, whereof this Empire is composed at this day; and anciently they did not belong unto this Crown, but were possessed by Barbarous Nations, as all the Southern Provinces and some of the Northern. But at this day the Language of *China* is but one only, which they call *Quonhoa*, or

or the language of the *Mandarines*, for they at the same time, and with the same care and industrie, that they introduced their government into other Kingdomes, brought in likewise their language: and so at this day it runneth through the whole Country, as *Latin* doth through all *Europe*; but more universallly each Province still retaining their naturall speech. It is a Language much limited; and as in the multitude of letters it exceedeth all others, so in scarcenesse of the noues which it useth, it is the least copious of any: for it hath not in all above 326. and of words which in reality are the same, but only differing in accent and aspiration.) 1228. Almost all end in vowels, and those few, which do not terminate in vowels, end either in *M.* or *N.* They are all *Monosyllables*, all undeclined, as wel verbes as noues, and so accommodated to their use, that many times the verbe serveth for a noun, and a noun for a verb, and an adverb too, if need be. For which reason it is more easie to be learn'd than the *Latine*; the Grammar only whereof taketh up a childs whole time. The brevity of it maketh it full of equivocal words, and for the same reason compendious. This which would be troublesome to some, is very pleasing to the *Chinenses*, who are most particular lovers of brevity in speech; being either imitators, or imitated by the *Lacedemonians*. It is rather sweet than harsh, and if it be spoken perfectly, (as it is for the most part, in *Nan-*
kin) is very delightfull to the ear.

To say a thing with respect, with humility, and in applause of anothers merits, they use many excellent termes and phrases, (which are the proprieties also of our *Portuguese* language.) And although it be a very narrow language, it is so iwcet, that it exceedeth almost all others that I know. To say among us : *Take a thing*, either with the whole hand, or with some particular fingers thereof, we are forced still to repeat the verb take; but among them it is not so; each word signifieth the verb, and the manner too. As for example *Nien* to take with two fingers; *Tzo* to take with all the fingers; *Chui* with the whole hand turned downwards; *Tore* with the hand having the fingers turned upwards; so likewise with the verb [*is*] as; he *is* in the house, he *is* eating, or *is* sleeping: they have a word, wherewithat once they express both that he *is*, and, how he *is*. We, to say, the foot of a man, the foot of a bird or the foot of any beast, are forced alwayes to specific with the same word *foot*, but the *Chinenses* do it with one word: as *Kio* the *foot* of a man, *Chua* the *foot* of a bird; *Thi* the *foot* of any beast.

Their style in their writing is very different, from their discourse, although the words are the same: so that when one taketh the pen in hand for to write, he had need to raise up his witts; and it would be counted a ridiculous thing, to write as they speak ordinarily. This is the reason, that all their pointed or accented reading, orating, disputing, and persuading, as wel in publick as in private, is always first practised and exercised with the pen.

The letters which they use, seem to be as Ancient as the people themselves, for according to their histories it is since the Invention of them 3700. years to this present year 1640, in which I wrote this relation. I wil be bold to say that this is one of the most admirable things in that Kingdom

Kingdome: for the number of their letters being excessive, almost all have some skill in them, at least as much as is sufficient for the exercise of their trades; and though they are proper only to *China*, yet they are used in all the neighbouring Kingdomes, every one reading them in their owne language; as among us it is in the figures of numbers & of the starres, which are the same over all *Europe*, and yet every nation calleth them by different names. They are very proper for Embassies, Bills, and Bookes. These, although each Province have a different language, are common and understood of all, as if they had been written in their owne language.

The Author of these is said to be *Fohi*, one of their first Kings. At the beginning they were fewer, and more simple, resembling, in some respect, the thing that was exprest by them; for that which is pronounced *Gè*, and signifieth the Sun, was written with a circle, and a Diametral line through it. Afterwards the form was something varied, changing the circle almost into a square, having the same line through it, and doth still signify the Sun. This variety in making of their letters hath caused four kinds of them. First the *Ancient*, which remaineth still in their Libraries, and is understood of all the *Litterati*, although it be no longer in use, except in some titles and seales, which they put in stead of Armes. The second is called *Chincù*, and is the most current, as well in manuscript, as printed bookees. The third they call *Tape*, and answereth to the running hand used among our publick Notaries, not much in use, unless it be in bills, contracts, pleadings, policies, and such like things. The fourth is so different from the rest, as well fo: the Abbreviations, (which are many,) as also for the different stroakes and shapē of the letters, that it requireth a particular study to understand them. This word *Sie*, which signifieth to give thanks, is written after three most different manners.

Their letters are in all sixty thousand, enrolled in their *vocabulary*, which they call, *Haipen*, and may be hundred a great sea. They have others more briefe; For to read, write, compose, and understand very well, about eight or ten thousand letters will serve the turne: and when they meet with any letters, which they call a *cold letter*, they have recourse to their *vocabulary*, as we do, when we meet with a *Latin* word that we do not understand. From hence it is evident, that he is most learned amongst them, that knoweth most letters; as amongst us he is the best *Latinist*, that is most versit in his *Calpines-Dictionarium*. To form all these multitude of letters, they use only nine strokes, or touches of the pen: but because these only would not be sufficient for so great a fabrique, they do joine figures, or perfect and significant letters, one into another; by which means they make other new and different ones, and of a different signification. So this line — signifieth one: crossed with another line + ten, and having another stroke at the bottome ⊕ signifying the earth, and with another stroke at the top of it ⊕ it standeth for King; adding a stroke on the left side of it between the two first strokes ⊕ it is taken for a precious stone, and by adding certaine other lines, it is meant for a pearle: And this last figure is every letter to have, that must signify a precious stone, or any other stone, that is of price and esteeme, although not counted

counted precious. So every letter which signifieth any tree must have joyned with it the letter, which signifieth wood : and the letter that signifieth metall, must be annexed to the figure which it is put to signify, as Iron, Copper, Steel ; yet this is no infallible rule.

They have also, in the composition of their *Letters*, had respect to their significations : and so that square figure, which we speake of before, to signifie the *Sunne*, joyned with another very little different, standing for the *Moone*, is called *Min*, and signifieth Brightnesse. Another which hath the likenesse of a Portall, called *Muen*, signifieth a gate : there is another which signifieth a heart, to which it hath some resemblance. Now if this letter be placed between the two perpendicular lines, which form the letter that standeth for a Portall, it signifieth *Sadnesse* and *Affliction*, that is, a heart streightened and prest in a narrow doore : and every word of *Sadnesse* must have a heart annexed to it.

They who write well, are held in great esteeme ; and they make more account of a good writing, than of a good picture. And for a fee of ancient letters well shapen and formed, they do not care to spend a good summe of money : and letters from being first esteemed, have come at length to be reverenced. They cannot endure to see a written paper lying on the ground, but presently take it up, and in the childrens schools there is a place appoynted for the keeping of them ; and afterwards they burne them at certaine times, not out of religion, or superstition, as the *Turks* do, but only out of the reverence they bear to *Letters*.

Their way of writing is from the top of the paper downwards to the bottome, and beginning at the right hand of the paper proceed to the left, as the *Hebreus* and all Eastern nations do.

They formerly made use of the inner barks of some trees in stead of paper, as other nations have done. For a stile or penthey ued certainte *Bodkins* of Iron, with which they dexterously formed their *Letters*. They wrote also many things on *Lamins* or plates of metall, and also on vessells of molten metall ; of which there are yet some remaining, which are held in no small esteeme by the owners, & all that see them. But it is now 1800 years since they have had the invention of paper, which is there of so many sorts & in so great plenty, that I am perswaded, that in this *China* exceedeth the whole world, & is exceeded by none in the goodnes thereof. That which aboundeth most, & is most used for printing, is made of a certaine Tree, which is called in *India*, *Bambū*, and in *China*, *Cō*, the art in making of it is like ours, but the belt and whitest is made of Cotton-cloth.

In stead of pens they use penfills made of the haire of severall creatures, the best are of those of a *Hare*. They are more easie and convenient to write with than pens : the ordinary ones cost three, four, or five farthings ; the best come to six pence a piece. Their *standishes* are made of stone of severall formes, and are commonly handsomely wrought, and of a small price : yet they have some of thirty crownes a piece. In these they dissolve the inke, which is made up in little molds and dried : The best is made of the smoake of oyle, which they gather by art : it is sold at a small price commonly, the dearest being a crowne, or seven and six pence the pound ; but the best of all from ten to twenty crownes. The *Artezans* which make it are not held for *mechanicks*, so noble is this art esteemed by

by them. They uſe ſometimes red ink, especially in their *Annotations* upon books: and ſometimes (but very ſeldome) write withit. It is their greatest care and ambition to have all their instruments of writing to be of rich materials, neat, proper, and in good order, with the ſame pride and delight, as the moft accurate Captain or Souldier among us taketh in his armeſ.

In printing, it ſeemeth that *China* ought to have the precedence of other nations : for according to their books they have uſed it this 1600 years; but it is not (as I ſaid before) like unto ours in *Europe*. For their *Letters* are engraven in Tables of wood. The Authour of the book ordereþ what kind of letter he will have, either great, little, or middle-sized; or rather he giveth his manuscript to the graver, who maketh his Tables of the ſame bignesse with the ſheets that are given him; and paſting the leaves upon the Tables with the wrong ſide outwards, he engraveth the letters as he findeth them, with much facility and exactnesse, and without making any *Errata*: their writing not being on both ſides the paper, as among us, but on one ſide only; and the reaſon, that their books ſeem to be written on both ſides is, becauſe the white ſide is hidden within the fold.

They print likewife with Tables of ſtone, with this diſference, that then the paper is made all black, and the letters remain white, because when they print thus, they lay the ink upon the *Surfaces* of the ſtone, but in the *Tables* of wood, they put it only in the hollow of the engraving. This laſt manner of printing ſerveth only for *Epitaphs*, Pictures, Trees, Mountains, and ſuch like things, whereof they do desire to have the memories preserved ; and they have very many prints of this kind. The ſtones which ſerve for this uſe, are of a proper and particuſlar kind ; their wooden Tables are made of the beſt Pear-tree. So that any work which they print (as they do in great numbers) remaineth alwaies entire in the print of the *Tables*, to bee reprinted as often as they pleafe, without any new expence or trouble in ſetting for the preſſe, as there is in our printing. Every one hath the liberty to print what he pleaſeth, without the *Supervizing, Cenſure, or Licence*, of any one ; and with ſo ſmall charges, that for every hundred letters perfectly engraved in the manner abovementioned, they pay no more than four pence half-penny, and yet every letter conſiſteth of many ſtockes.

Of their manner of ſtudy, and admittance to examination.

They are put to learn from their tender age. They have for beginners certain little bookeſ, containing good rules and precepts of vertue, good manners, obedience to their parents and ſuperiors, or ſome ſuch like matter.

matter. A few months after, they give them *Classical* books; which they get all by heart, both the *Text* and the *Gloss*, as perfect as we do our *Pater Noster*. After this, commeth the Masters explanation. They say their lesson likewise by heart, the Scholars back being turned towards the master with the book lying open upon the table, and they use no other phrase for saying their Lesson, but only *Poixu*, which signifieth, to turn their back upon the book, and this is done, that they might not cast their eies upon it to help themselves. They are kept to their studies with so much rigour, (even the youngest of them) that they are allowed no manner of recreation or diversion.

Every day they write something, and their masters copy is laid under the paper, like the black line among us: and the paper being thinne and transparent, the letters easily appear through, which the boy that learneth doth easily imitate, forming other letters like those, which hee cometh under his paper; and by using this for some short time, hee becometh accustomed to the fashion of his Masters hand, which hee imitateth a presumering; that no man can be learned, if hee read, or write ill; although among us there be many examples to the contrary. For it is wel known, that the excellent Doctor *Navarra* wrought a very ill hand, & our *Bartolomeo Philippo*, a singular Scholar, writ so perfect an ill hand, that to the universall grief of all learned men, his most learned works were lost; although they were many, and no doubt, full of most admirable knowledge, because there was not found any one, that was able to read them; as may be perceived by those works of his, that have escaped out of that pernicious *Chaos*.

Next, when the *Chinenses* have learned a good quantity of their letters, and have had some acquaintance with their books, they are instructed in the rules of composition. First, they give them some disordered compositions, which they are to reduce into order; then some abbreviations for sitions, which they are to enlarge upon, and afterwards in due time they give them only the them to enlarge upon, and afterwards in due time they give them only the point or Theme; in like manner they do, at their examinations. And because every three years the most approved compositions of those, who have taken degrees, are put in print, others take great paines in them, and get as many of them by heart as they are able;

They have no *Universities*, where they study together; but all, that are able, take a Master into the house for their sonnes, and sometimes two, if there be much difference between their childrens ages. This Master is alwaies with them without any interruption, and teacheth them not only *letters* and *sciences*, but whatsoever concerneth *Civill government*, *good manners*, *moralitie*, and the way how to carry themselves in every thing.

If

If they are persons of *Quality*, the Scholar never goeth abroad without his Master, who serveth to instruct him in all *Civilties*, and good behaviour; particularly in visits, where, as there are many *Ceremonies* used, there is something of difficultie; and they might easily commit an error, if their Master did not help them. And without doubt, this way is most decent for their reputation, and more profitable for their studies, and lesse exposed to those venomous practises and company, which are apt to teach them such customs, as infect their minds, and spoile the *Decorum* of a *Gentleman*; and much more in *China*, where, if any one have this evill fame, he cannot be admitted to examinations.

There are nevertheless many Schools for children of a meaner condition, where the Masters have this good quality, that they receive no more than they are well able to teach, that they might not go from them, as if they had never come thither; as it falleth out too often in *Europe*, where each Master endeavoureth to have many Scholars, rather for his own gain than their advancement. For indeed a man, let him be never so able, is but still one man, whence it commeth to passe, that some of their Scholars know the School, but are not known of it. This inconvenience is avoided in *China*: each taketh no greater charge upon him, than he is well able to give an account of, and each Master admitteth no more Scholars, than he can well teach. He is with them all the day long, behaving himself with much gravitie; neither do they ever go out of the School, unlesse it be at meales; and if any one of them doth live far off, his dinner is brought to the School. Their play-daisies and time of *vacation* are only fifteen daisies at the beginning of the new year, and some few daisies in the *fift* and *seventh* moon: and as there are there no *Holy-daisies*, they make all the rest of the year an un-interruppted application to their studies. So sensible are they of this truth: That it is necessary to take very great paines to bee learned; and, that seldom any one paeth with the reputation of a knowing man, without much labour and industrie.

When they are grown up and past these rudiments, and their parents are not able to provide a master for each in particular; some of the kindred and neighbours joyne together, and take a master in common, who dyets with them day by day in course, and receiveth his *Salary* from them all, which is not much; but more or lesse according to the custome of the Countries, and may amount each year to 40 or 50 *Crowns*; the common *Salary* being from ten to twenty crownes: besides the pretents which they make them at certaine feasts, consisting of stockings, shoes, and such like things. At meals (although it be in the houses of persons of the greatest quality) they are to sit with the father of the scholar, or at least with the scholar himselfe. Many times they stury not in their fathers house, having others more proper for that occasion, either within or without the City, but never farr off: and as much as they can, avoyd their owne houses, knowing well that the multitude of people, and the respect which is payd to their quality at home, are capitall enemies to study: hence it cometh to passe in other Kingdomes, that the sonnes of Lords and great men

do

do for the most part, prove great *Ignorants*: As if the greatest *Nobility* did not consist in the greatest *knowledge*.

There are ordinary Masters without number, for there being so many that pretend to the degree of a *Literato*, and so few that attaine to it, the greatest part are constrained to take upon them the imployment of a Schoolmaster; so that to set up a Schoole the year following, they go about to get scholars for that time, from the beginning of the present year, but in great houses they commonly receive none for Masters, but such as have taken the degree of Batchelour, who continue the course of their studies with a designe to take their other degree.

When they have taken any degree, although it be but only of *Batchelour*, they are then no longer under Master, but forme a kind of *Academie*, as it were, among themselves; where they meet at certaine times every month, one of them openeth a book, and giveth a point or Therme, upon which all of them make their *Compositions*, which they afterward compare among themselves.

Although they have no *universities* and particular schooles, nevertheless they have generall schooles, which are very capacious and magnificient, and most richly adorned, for the examiners, and those that are to be examined; of which there is a wonderfull great number. These schooles are in the Cities and Townes, but the most stately ones are in the *Metropoli*es of the Provinces, where the examination of *Licentias* is held. These fabriques are of a bignesse proportionable to the multitude of people which flock to them. The form is almost the same in all. Those of *Cantone* are not bigge: because they admit not of above fourre-score, to take their degree; whereas in others, there are admitted from an hundred to a hundred and fifteen, which is a great difference. The whole struture is compassed about with a wall, having a faire and sumptuous gate towards the South, opening into a large streete, where a numerous multitude are gathered together. This streete or *Piatza* is 150. Geometricall paces broade, each pace consisting of five foote: There are no houses in it, but only porches and walks with seats for the captaines and soldiers, who are there assyting all the time of the examination, and keep a strong guard. At the first entrance, there is a great Court, where do stand the *Mandarines* of the first post, with a Court of guard within the gate, then presently appeareth another wal with a gate, made like those of our Churches, and openeth & shuts in two leaves or pieces, when it is not convenient that all should be opened: when you are past that gate, there appeareth a large place, in which there is a pond of water, extending from one tide to another, over which standeth a stone bridge of perfect Architecture, which suffer endeth at another entrance or gate, guarded by Captaines, which suffer none to go in or out, without expresse order from the officers. After this gate followeth another very spacious Court, having on each side rowes of little houses or chambers for the persons that are to be examined, placed on the East and West side thereof. Every chamber is fourre palmes and an halfe long, (every palme is nine inches English) and three and a halfe broade, and is in height about the stature of a man: they are covered with Tarrasse or Playster in stead of Tyle; within each of them are two

boards,

boards, the one fastened to fit downe on, the other moveable for a Table: which after it hath serued them to write upon, they make use of, when time is, to eat on. There is a narrow entrie, which leadeth to them, that admitteth but of one man a breast, and that hardly too; the doores of one row open toward the backside of the other.

At the time of the examination, there is a souldier to assist in every one of these little chambers, to guard and serve the person to be examined; sitting under his little Table: They say, he hath a gagge of wood in his mouth, that he should not speake and trouble the student. But if it be in his power to remedie it, it is not likely, that he doth entirely complie with his obligation.

At the end of this narrow entrie I speake of, is railed a Tower upon four Arches with Balusters without on all sides, within which there is a *Salone* or great Hall, where do assist some officers and persons of respect, who stay there to give account of what passeth in all the little chambers, which they have placed in their sight. At the fourre corners of this Court are fourre great Towers, with their Bell or Drum, which is founded, as soone as there happeneth any noveltie or disorder, to give notice thereof to whom it doth concerne. Nigh to these Towers are other Buildings with a large Hall, furnished with seats and Tables, and other necessaries for the businesse that is to be performed there; which is the first examination of the compositions; at which the more ordinary officers do assist, sitting in those seates.

Going through the Hall by the gate which looketh Northward, there is to be seen another Court, and presently another Hall of the same form; but the furniture thereof is more rich and costly, it serving for the *President*, and more honourable officers. Then follow likewise other appartments and lodgings for the said persons, and for all the other officers and examiners; every appartament hath a Hall, seats and Tables to negotiate and eat at; a chamber with a bed, and Canopie of silke, and other household-stuff proper to that end they are designed for. There is also a walke with little gardens and low Trees. There are also joyned to these, other lesser chambers for *Notaries*, *Secretaries*, *Pages*, and other officers of their families; besides these there are other chambers for the *Mandarines* and inferiour officers, and for their ordinary servants, with Butteries, Larders, Kitchens, and whatsoever is necessary for the accommodation of so great a multitude; every thing being disposed and ordered even to admiration.

Anciently the nobilitie and kindred of the King were not admitted to any sort of office or publique charge; no, nor thole of them that studied, were allowed to come to the examinations, to take their degrees. About 20 years since, after many earnest solicitations made by them, and oppositions by the contrary part, they had the privilidge granted them, to be admitted to all examinations; and the examiners are obliged to confer degrees on some of them, but not to many. The common people of all sorts and all vocations are admitted, except thole that are infamous, as the servants of the *Mandarines* (not their household Servants, but those which serve them in their Tribunalls and Courts of justice,) Sergeants, Bayliffs,

Bayliffs, Catchpoles, Rogues, Executioners, and guardians of their publicke women, called *Vampa*. Likewise those are not admitted, against whom lyeth any tax, or accusation of ill manners, untill there be satisfaction given of their amendment.

They have three sorts of degrees *Sieuai*, *Kingin*, *Cinfu*; and that we might the better understand them, I might say, that after their manner they are answerable to our *Bachelour Licentiate*, and *Doctour*, each degree having their severall ensignes and badges of honour. Those that are only students, and have taken no degree, have not any particular priviledge belonging to them, but only are respected as Gentlemen, and the people honour them, as the lights of their Country, so much is knowledge esteemed among them, who know, how to honour that, which doth truly deserve esteeme.

C H A P. 8.

Of the manner of their Examinations, and how their degrees are conferred.

The order and manner, that the *Chineſes* observe in their examinations of persons that take their degrees, is very curious. It is to be supposed, that in these examinations, from the first of the ſimple ſtudent, to the laſt of the Doctour, conſiſteth the buſineſſe of the greateſt impor-tance of this Kingdome: for on theſe depend the degrees and offi-ces both of honour and profit, the only marke, at which mortals aime with their chiefest attention. In a word, if there be an employmēnt, wherein theſe two are coupled (a conjunction which the old proverbe hath ſentenced to be very difficult) certainly it is this. We will begin at the be-ginning, that is what is performed by the meere and ſimple ſtudents.

Before the examination there is first ipread abroad a report, that there will be one, till at length it be published by *Autoritie*. Because the de-grees which are conſered, and thoſe which pretend, are many, it is not convenient that ſo great a multitude ſhould be admitted to the examination, on of the *Chancellour*: and to the end that both the fit and unfit ſhould not enterat that examination, there is an order in the Province, that thoſe which are to enter, ſhould be proved first by two Antecedent examinations in their City or Towne, after this manner. Every Judge in his Territorie doth publish an examination, and appointeth a day for the meeting of all the ſtudents of his Precinct. And because ſometimes the place of the publick univerſitie is not ſufficient for the reception of ſo great a multitude, they fill a large field with feats and Tables, and there the examination is held. The Judge giueþ the poynþ upon which they are to compoſe. They begin in the morning, and are allowed time till night; They give in but one composition, and when they have finished it, they configne it to the proper officer, who, putting them together, examineth them all along with great diligence; and chufing out the beſt, cauſeth the name of their componers

composers to be written: this roll of their names is stuck up upon the wall of his Palace, by which it cometh to be known, who they are, that are allowed to paſſe to the ſupream examination; and this allowance they call, *Having a name in their Village*.

The compositions thus allowed are carried by the Officer, in perfon to the Gouvernor of the City: and the ſame do all the judges of Townes, each within his own jurisdiction; and each City in its Villages, each City being diuided into two Villages, with their particular judges, besides the Gouvernor of the City. And all the ſtudents of the Country, that have been already allowed of, being assembled together, enter into the generall place of the City, where the Gouvernor of the City examines them again, and giueþ them a new point, after the ſame manner, as was given them in the Village with this diſference, that they ſue more care, rigour, and diligence, and admit leſſe of the Interceſſion of friends, who are ready in all places to pervert the truth. Of theſe the Gouvernor chufeth 200, and giueþ their names to the *Chancellour*, who putteþ them the third time upon the ſame examination, almoſt in the ſame manner, and chufeth out amonſt them about 20 or 25, upon whom he confeſſereth their degree; ſo that being ſifted three times moft exactly, they come at length to be but few in number. Then are given them their enſignes and priviledges, with an adverſtice of their ſubordination, not only to the *Chancellour*, but alſo to the *Prefects*, who are two in each City, and are called *Huquon*, that is, *Mandarines* of the ſciences. Their office is to obſerve and ſpy out the deportment of each, and to chafeſe thoſe, that behave themſelves amifle, and (which is more) they may examine them a new, iſthey pleafe, and as often, as they think good.

The *Chancellour* is bound by his office to ſend through the Province, and to assemble within the Cities all the Ancient *Bachelours*, and to exa-mine them, to find whether they ſtudy, or elſe addiſe themſelves to other imployments diſſerent from their profeſſion. He rewardeth the diligent, and cauſiſteth thoſe that are idle, in this manner: when they are all gathered together in the generall Palace, he giueth them a point for their compositions; the which being ended, their papers are diuided into five *Decuryes* or *Claffes*, to thoſe of the firſt he giueth praife and rewards; the ſame or little leſſe is done to thoſe of the ſecond; Thoſe of the third *Claffe* are paſſed by in silence; thoſe of the fourth he chafeſeth; thoſe of the laſt *Claffe*, he depriveþ of their degrees, priviledges, and enſignes of honour, and turneth them back to be rank'd among the common people: yet ne-vertheleſſe with liberty to return again, for their degrees, to their examinations. Of the firſt ſort are chosen the ableſt to the number of 40. For each City, and 20 for each town, and although they have not above eight Crowns penſion a man, they ſtand the King, through the whole Kingdome in 30000. Crowns. This employmēnt is very great; for the Cities are 444; the Villages 1250. This is that which a *Bachelour* is obli-geed to do, to obtain his degree: let us now ſee, what is required of a *Li-cenciate*.

The examination of theſe is held every three years, in the chief City of each Province, upon the ſame day through-out the whole Kingdome;

which useth to be in the eighth moone; and commonly falleth out to bee about the end of our September, or beginning of October. The examination lasteth about 25 or 30 daies; although they, that are to be examined, are not held to it above three daies only; and those are the ninth, the twelfth and the fifteenth of the aforefaid month. The chief examiners are the greatest Officers of the whole Province, besides others of that precinct who are assistant to them: But above all, the President; who commeth, even from court, purposely to his Province. These are the first, that do assemble in the general Palace, and with them their Secretaries, notaries, and other people appointed both for their Guard and service; and likewise Physitians, for fear they might have need of them; because, whilst this action lasteth, no person is permitted to come out, or in, to them.

Without, there remaineth a vigilant Officer, to provide whatsoever is required from within, only the *Chancellor* is here excused from this confinement, because he is the common master of all the Batchelours. There are some, which are so infallibly certain of their knowledge and abilities, that there was one in *Kians*, who, after the studens were locked up for their examinations, made a list of those whom he conceived, shoulde receive their degrees, and having fet it up in publick, he erred only in six, of an hundred and fifteen, which were elected.

When the Officers are assembled, the students (which in the larger Provinces and Universities exceed the number of 7000) make their appearance, at nine of the clock in the morning, keeping their order, and without any contrast; (as it often happeneth at the examination of Batchelours, with such confusion, as is often the occasion of undecent and unfortunate accidents, and sometimes murders, as I once saw in the City of *Sumkiam* in the Province of *Nankim*, and in that of *Kiamfi*.) At their entrance they are all searched, to find what they carry about them; and if the least paper be found about any one of them, he is presently excluded. And for the leſſe trouble in searching of them, they are all obliged to wear their hair loſe and hanging down, their legs naked, and ſhoes made of cord, their garment without lining, or any fold whatſoever, with their inke-horne and penſels about their necks; (for as we have ſaid before, they ſe no other pens, but thoſe.) As ſoon as they are entered, they retire into thoſe little chambers, we ſpeak of before, each into one, with his ſouldier to watch him, who ſitteth at his feet under his little table. Then they lock up the gates, ſetting their guards of ſouldiers, who keep ſo ſtrict and rigorous a watch, that during the examination, they do not ſuffer any one to paſſe through that ſtreet, much leſſe do they permit any one to go out.

any one to go on. Then presently are the points exposed, which the President hath already written in large letters on white Tables of *Charan*, the which hang publickly at the four corners of the croffe way between the little houses, so that every one may see them from his own chamber, the Points or Theames are seaven, four out of the four last books of their Philosophers which are common to all; and three from every *Kim*, that is, out of every part of his books of sciences; each student necessarily professing only one of them. Vpon

Vpon each point the student is to write briefly, Elegantly, and sententiously; so that every one is to make seven compositions, which are to be written in a faire and well shap'd letter, without any Abbreviation. If they afterwards mend or correct any thing, they are to write underneath, in what line that Emendation is made. They make two copies of their compositions; the one subscribed with the name and Surname of their Father and Grand-Father, with the years of their own age, together with an Inscription, as seemeth good to each of them. These they seal up with the Inscription only on the outside: presently they confine the open copies to the officers appointed to receive them, and then go their waies. The sealed copies are kept according to their number in a place appointed for them; the open copies are given to certain Notaries, who copy them out in red letters, that the composers hand might not be known; and after that, they are given to the Examiners, who distributing them among themselves, do, the two following daies, examine and review them, with so much rigour, that the least errouer is sufficient to exclude the student. I shall give you a pleasant example.

Among their letters, there is one called *Ma*, which signifieth a horse : this is composed of a perpendicular line crossed with three others, and underneath hath a stroke, which endeth with a concavity like to our letter S. In this concavity they put 4 pricks in a row, one after another. In stead of these four pricks when they write with Abbreviation, they put only one line. Now there was a student, who in his composition wrote it after this last manner; and although his composition were excellent, yet because he had not writ this letter after the first manner, the examiner sent him away with these words, *without four leggs the horse can-*

When that is done; they let up, on the outward wall, a large catalogue of the names of such, who have made any fault in their compositions, which serveth for advice to them, to return home to their houles, which they prefently do partly out of shame, and partly out of necessity, because they will not be suffered to enter at the following examinations.

The second time they enter again, on the twelfth day of the month, where they are proceeded with as before, excepting that they give them only three points, concerning such doubts and difficulties, as may occurr in matter of government; to understand, how they would behave themselves in it, and how they would advise the King. Then again upon the through examination of these second compositions many are sent away and excluded from the third examination: to which they enter on the fifteenth day of the month; and have only three points given them concerning the lawes and statutes of the Realme. When the compositions of this last examination are received, they shut up the generall Palace for fifteen daies, more or lesse; and during that time, by comparing and chusing the best, they are reduced to a small number, who do really deserve the degree. Then they consign them to the *President*, who maketh the last scrutiny, and ranketh them in their places and order, there being a great difference in being of the first, or of the last; not only for their reputation, but also to be the sooner provided of some good place or office.

After this last diligence is ended, which is used about the copies of the compositions, presently they open the original compositions, that were sealed and laid by, that by the Inscriptions they might find out the names of the Authours; which they write down in certain classes according to their merits. This catalogue is exposed to the view of innumerable people, who are staying without to expect it; some for their Son or Brothers sake, some for their Father or Friend, some for their Master or Patron; and some only to satisfy their curiositie.

At the time when these names stand exposed, being written in very large letters, from the top to the bottom of a long paper, two palmes and a halfe broad, there stand ready without, just so many horses which are to carry those that receive their degree of *Licentiate*; each horse being marked with his number. of 1. 2. etc. And to every one of those servants, who are appointed to lead the Horses, there is given a ticket, with the name of the Graduate, and the number of that place, which belongeth to him. Who presently runneth to seek him out (it being not easie to find him, because they do yet stand retired) to give him notice of his election, and to beg some reward of him, and so stayes with him to wait upon him, till he departeth to go to the Court.

The students having notice given them of their promotion, come all on horse-back to the Palace-general, every one in his order; where the *Proveditor* and Minister of the Kings Exchequer-chamber, standeth ready expecting them, with the ensigns of their dignitie, as the Cap, Gown, Tip-pit, and Boots, which he solemnly putteth upon them, and when they are thus adorned, they go presently to give thanks to the *President* of the examinations: who receiveth them on foot, and treateth them, as his equals, though he be alwaies to them in the stead of a Master: and they do so depend on him, and bear him such extraordinary respect, that it is a thing almost incredible to be related. Among them is so much love and amity, as if they were really brethren; for they are called brothers of the examination; and like such do they respect one another. After follow diverse ceremonies, and severall banquets presented by the Officers altogether. They are three in all, as I remeber, and are all very sumptuous, but the third is of some profit also: for in this, there is set to every one of them three tables; the first covered with diverse meates; the second with hens, fowle, venison, and other flesh, which is to be all raw; the third with dried fruits: and all this is to be sent home to their houses, that they might spend it there, at their own pleasure and discretion.

As soon as these men have obtained their degree, they become presently great, honoured, nay adored; and, I know not how, suddenly rich. After this, they go no longer on foot, but either on horse-back or in a Sedan. And not only the graduate, but his whole family, change their condition, and he beginneth to think of purchasing his neighbours houles, and to build himself a Palace. This will yet seem more wonderfull to him, that knoweth, that many of them come out of their countries a very great way on foot, carrying at their backs, that habit, which they are to wear in the City, having sometimes their hands daubed with clay, where-with they lately were mending up their poor cottages: of which sort of blades I have seen some come to Nankim.

These

These solemnities being ended, the Graduates presently prepare to go to Court, to be made *Dottours*; and if they will take any government upon them, they are presently provided with some place or other: But if they accept of any government, they lose their pretension of being examined afterward for *Dottour*. Although there is none who at first doth not attempt it; But if any one doth not succeed in it, and begin to be somewhat in years, having a mind to put himself presently into the world, he accepteth of a Government, having only the title of a *Licentiate*, but such very feldome come to very high preferments; although there have been found some of them, who have had the good fortune to be advanced to the quality of *Vice-roy*. For this journey to Court they have every one of them given them 80. crownes, out of the Kings exchequer, to bear their charges: and it is very certaine (as I have been informed by some Chineses of credit,) that the whole expences, which every *Licentiate* stands the King in, from the time he taketh his degree, till he cometh to be placed in the Court amounteth to 1000. crownes; which throughout the whole Kingdome, (according to my account,) maketh a million and halfe of crownes. So much doth it cost the Prince in the forming of his wife-men, and making them capable of the Government of his crowne: so great a reward doth he propose to them, that they might aspire to be sufficiently learned.

The *Licentiates*, who are made every three yeare, throughout all the Provinces, are about fifteen hundred, more or lesse; and this is no great number in respect of those, which procure, their degree in all the general Palaces. In that of *Cantone*, which is one of the least, having not above 7500. little chambers in it, the compositions of the first day are about 96148, from whence may easily be inferred, how great the number of the pretenders is. And now we will give a particular chapter, concerning the supreme degree.

Of the degree of Dottour.

The degree of *Dottour* is solemnly conferred at the Court, in the second Moone of the yeare, which answereith to our month of March. They proceed in it according to the same form, which was observed in the degree of *Licentiate*; excepting that the ensignes of honour are different, and the examiners of greater qualitie, they being the chiefe of the royll Colledge called *Hanlin*, and their *President* is alway the *Colao*, the greatest dignitie, next the King, of this Empire: although he differently exerciseth the charge of *President*; for, in this Transaction, they of the royll Colledge have a definitive vote; and the compositions being distributed among them, after the first election, they, who are elected and approved by them, cannot be refused or rejected by the *President*.

All the *Licentiates* of the Kingdome are admitted to this examination, as well the old ones, as the new. And anciently there was no precedent examination

examination to inable them for this admittance; because it was accounted sufficient to be a *Licentiate*, to have entrance at the examination of *Doctors*: But because among their compositions there were many so ill made, that it was time lost to read them, and did render the composers incapable, not only of the degree of *Doctor*, but likewise of pretending to it; therefore about 15. years since, there was introduced another examination for the receiving of them, which is in practise to this day: from whence it happeneth, that many are not received, to their great shame and sorrow: which is a wholesome instruction to others not to spend their time in feasting and recreations.

In this examination are to be chosen 350. upon whom the degree of *Doctor* is conferred. The ensignes of honour, excepting the Bootes, which are the same in all, are very different from those of the *Licentiates*, both in cost and ornament. They have also a girdle given them, which they alwaies weare in their places of Government, which are bestowed upon them; but is more rich and precious, according to the offices they are advanced to. When they have received their degree, and put on their ensignes of honour, they all assemble, within a Hall of the Kings Palace prepared for that purpose, where they are examined the second time in one only composition, the poynt being about the Government and emplayment which they are to be admitted to. At this examination, in former times the King did use to assit in person; but now there assitteth a *Colao* in his name.

The examination being ended, they passe into another Hall, where the new *Doctors* do make their reverence to the King, and presently the *Colao* presents to him three of them, which have obtained the first places; then the King with his owne hand bestoweth a reward on each of them. He to whom he giveth the first gift, being the chief of all the rest, hath a particular name belonging to him ever after; as also, to the second and the third: The first they call *Chiam, Yuen*, the next *Pham, Yuen*; the third the *Thoan, Hoa*; and this name is of so great esteeme and reputation, that in a few daies after the examination, ther is scarce any peron through out the whole Kingdom, that doth not know them by these names; and not by the names of their fathers and Countrie; which is a wonderfull thing in the names of our Dukes so vast a Kingdom as that is. The honour is as great, as that of our Dukes and Marquises. As well for the respect, which is paid them throughout the whole realme; as for the places of authority and trust, where they are put to govern; being the very same, which were anciently conferred upon those great Lords, whose authority was in another way, correspondent to that, which now these *Doctors* have.

These ceremonies being accomplisht, there is yet another examination, which although it be voluntarie, there are few that absent themselves from it. A new point is given, they make their compositions; and according to them ther is an Election made of those, who are to be admitted to the royll colledge. They select only 30 of the most deserving, and of them they admit five every year; who only for being entred in so small a number, are alway providing with profitable places of government. The other twenty five have particular Palaces assignd them; where they assemble

assemble, and become as Scholars under the discipline of a *Colao*; who almost every day, caufeth them to compose somewhat, and exercise themselves in all that belongeth to their learning, and speculative government. This continueth til the next examinations, at which new persons enter, and the other go forth, and according to their degrees and antiquity, are provided with the places of greatest importance at the court; from whence (unless it be to be *President*s of the examinations, or some other particular employmont, that lasteth but a short time, and by the Kings order) they never go out; nor notto be *vice royes*; which employmont is accounted below them, because only those of the royal colledge are capable of the dignitie of a *Colao*.

All the new *Doctors* are that year put into some employmont, unlesse there be any, that is not of competent years. That which helpeth this multitude to employmonts, is that the same year there is held a generall visitation throughout the whole Kingdome, by which there are so many of the old *Mandarines* turned out, that there are many places made void for the new ones; and, as this degree is of high account, the visits, congratulatory Feasts, and Presents, which are made upon this occasion, are almost incredible. The reward for bringing the first newes, is many times worth 200 Crownes to the Messenger, but commonly 50, assoone as the friends and kindred of those who are named among the three first above-mentioned, hear of their promotion, prently they erect unto them triumphall arches in their Cities or Villages, not of wood coverd with Canvasse or past-bord, but of pure Marble sumptuously wrought; in the front whereof is engraved the name of the Person, for whom they were erected; the place he hath obtained, and the year of his *Doctor-ship*; in a word, the world is the same throughout. It is a vain thing to beleve, that he which hath not power, should be admired, heard or received with applause; whether it be done out of zeale to the truth, or out of flattery and interest.

Of the Books and Sciences of the Chineſſes.

Of the Sciences of the *Chineſſes*, we cannot speak so very distinctly and clearly, because really, their Authors have not been so fortunate, as *Aristotle, Plato*, and other Philosophers and wise men, who have methodically handled them under their severall *Classes*, divisions, and titles: whereas the *Chineſſes* have written little or nothing of many of the sciences and liberal arts, and of the rest, but superficially, except those which concern good government and policie.

From the very beginning it hath been their chiefeſt aim, to find out the beſt way of government; the firſt that began this, were the Kings *Foh, Ximon and Hoamſi*. These three at the beginning gave themſelves to their

their morall and speculative Sciences, by way of mysticall, even and odd numbers, and other ciphers and notes; by which they gave law to their subiects: and from hand to hand, these were alway communicated to the Kings, who were the wisemen of that time, and by this means did govern the Kingdome; until the *Monarchie of Chiu*; which began 1123, years before the coming of our Saviour: at which time *Venuam*, and *Cicuan* his youngest Sonne, published these numbers and ancient notes, and made a booke of them, intituled *Tekim*; giving likewise many morall precepts, documents and orders to the whole Kingdome; and following the steps of other Philosophers, which lived according to the *Stoick* rule: they had alway great care of the Government and publique good; until the time of *Confusio*; who composed five bookes in order, (called by them *Yehim*) which are at this day held as sacred. He made also other bookes; and of his sentences and sayings there have been (since) also many more bookes composed.

This Philosopher flourished about 150. years before the coming of Christ; he was a man of a good nature, well inclined to vertue, prudent, sententious, and a lover of the publicke good. He had many disciples, which followed him; he had a great desire to reform the world (which, even at that time, began to lose its sinceritie and veracity, changing the ancient manner of living, and introducing moderne customes.) And so he governed in several Kingdomes: for when he saw, that they did not live conformable to his precepts and counsells in one Kingdome, he went to another; yet not uncensured by many other Philosophers of that time, who seeing the evill course, which men tooke, retired themselves to their villages, and becoming husbandmen, in their owne persons tilled their grounds. Now it happened that one day *Confusio*, passing along, and being to go through a river, whose ford he was not acquainted withal, sent one to enquire of a man that was labouring thereabouts, who was a Philosopher. He asked the messenger, who he was; and being awurded, that he was a disciple of *Confusio's*, who sate in his Coach expecting his answer; The Philosopher replied, let him go in a good houre: he knoweth the way, and hath no need of a guide; signifying thereby, that he went from Kingdome to Kingdome, endeavouring to Governe, in a time that was not proper for Philosophers to reigne in.

Nevertheless in after times, this man was in so great favour with the *Chineses*; and the bookes which he composed were held in so much credit, as also the sayings and sentences which he left behind him; that they do not only hold him for a Saint, and a Master and *Doctor* of the whole Kingdome, and whatsoever is cited of him is esteemed as an Oracle or sacred thing; but also, in all the Cities of the Kingdome, he hath publique Temples built to his memorie, where at set times he is worshipped with very great ceremony: and in the year of the examinations, one of the principall ceremonies is, that all the graduates go together to do him reverence, and acknowledge him for their Master.

Of those that are descended from him, he that is the neerest of kin hath a competent revenue, and enjoyeth the title of *Chuhu*, which is as much as Marquis or Duke. The Gouvernor of the City where he was borne,

borne, out of respect and favour to him, is alwaies one of his family: and finally, all thosse of his lineage, assoone as they are borne, have a particular privilege from the *Emperour*, and are respected by all, in regard of their predecesour *Confusio*. This custome continueth to this day, although it be 1800. years since he died.

But returning to the Bookes which he published, they are these following: The first is called *Tekim*, and treateth of his naturall Philosphie, and of the generation and corruption of things; of Fate, or Judiciary Prognostication from these and other things, and from naturall principles; Philosphizing by way of numbers, figures, and symboles; applying all to moralitie and good government. The second is called *Xukim*, containing a Chronicle of the ancient Kings, and their good government. The third *Xikim*, and is of ancient poesie, all under metaphors and poetical figures, concerning the natural inclinations of mankind, and also of diverse customes. The fourth, named *Likim*, treateth of rites and civil ceremonies of the Ancients, and also of thosse that belong to Religion and divine worship. The fifth is called *Chuncies*, the which treateth also of the History of their Countrie, and containeth a collection of examples of severall ancient Kings, good and bad, to be imitated or avoided.

There are also foure other bookes, which were made by *Confusio* and another Philosopher called *Menju*; In these nine bookes is contained all the naturall and morall Philosphie, which the whole Kingdome studieth; and out of these is taken the point, which is propofed to read, or compose on, in their examinations for degrees. Upon these bookes they have severall commentaries and glosses: But there is one of them, which by the law of the Kingdome they are commanded to follow; nor are they allowed to contradict it in their publique ACTS; and hath almost the same authority with the text.

These nine bookes are held, as it were, sacred, and in them, and their *Glosses* and commentaries consisteth the great endeavour of their studies; getting them by heart, and endeavouring to understand the difficult places of them; forming diverse lesles upon them, whereby to govern themselves in the practise of vertue, & to prescribe rules for the government of the Kingdome, according to those wise dictates and *Maximes* they finde there. And because their examinations are very strickt and rigorous, they not being suffered to bring along with them to thosse examinations, not only any booke, but also not so much as a fingers breadth of paper, it being no easie thing to be very ready in all these bookes, the order is; That the first examination of *Bachelour* be upon the last foure, and that of *Licentiates* to be upon the same foure; as also upon one of the other five: for this reaon none is obliged to be very perfect in more than one of those sciences, which he doth professe: and upon that the point is to be given him.

But to speak more distinctly to their learning (although in their books it is not delivered so clearly and orderly) I say, they consider in the universe three things; that is, the heavens, earth, and man; and so accordingly they divide their learning into three members, that is, into the science of the heavens; the science of the earth, and the science of man; including

ding in the two first, all naturall knowledge, and in the third, all moral.

In the science of the heavens, they teake of the beginning of all naturall things, of the Creation of the Universe, and of the Formation of man himselfe : of univerall causes, of generation and corruption ; of elements and elementary qualities, answerable to the planets ; of celestiall motions and revolutions ; of the four seasons of the year ; of the stars and planets, of *Judicall Astrologie*, of spirits good and bad what they are ; and other like matters.

In the Science of the earth, they treat of the varietie that is seen in her, by reason of the 4. seasons of the yeare, of the productions of things, and their differences : of fields and possessions, and their divisions in order to *Husbandrie* and *Agriculture* : of the situation of the 4 parts of the world : of their position ; and other particulars concerning them ; of the choise and building of *Cemetaries*, and burying places for their dead ; in which they are very superstitious.

In the science, which treateth of man, they teach all their moralitie ; and that which belongeth to man in a sociable and politick capacite ; who imitating the order, manner and propriete of heaven and earth, as the universall Parents, liveth in communite with the observing their five moral vertues, which are *Pietie*, *Justice*, *Prudence*, *Polieie* and *Fidelite*. They treat also of morall matters, and of the respect which they have to the five orders of persons, into which their Common-wealth is divided ; that is, *Father and Sonne* : *Husband and Wife* : *King and Subjects* : *Elder Brother and Younger Brother* : and *Friends* among themselves.

All their moralitie is divided into two members : The first they call *Divine Moralitie*, which treateth only of ceremonies, rites and sacrifices, which they make to heaven, earth ; the planets ; parts of the world ; good and bad spirits of the heaven, and earth, mountains, rivers, tutelary spirits, soules of the dead, Heroes and famous men, &c. The second is their *Politick and civill Moralitie* ; This is divided into *Ethiques*, which ordereth the manners and actions of mankind as they are considered in relation to their owne persons : and into *Economie*, in order to the government of their families : and into *Politiques*, in relation to the Government of the Commonwealth, the publick good, and conservation of the Kingdome. The Government of a single person doth put him in a way to the good Government of his familie ; and the good Government of a familie to that of the Kingdome; as for example, A father, which doth not well Governe his house, how shoulde he governe a City or Province ? and he that knoweth not how to governe and correct himselfe, according to the duty of his single person, how shoulde he be able to regulate his familie ? So that they lay the first foundation of mortalitie, in the good manners and behaviour of each particular person ; from whence proceede well govern'd families, and publick Governments well administris.

Under the same member of the science of man, they comprehend the *Liberall* and all other *Arts*, which belong to their persons, families and *Monarchie* ; which shall be the subject of the following chapter.

Of their Sciences and liberall Arts in particular.

Grammar, the gate of the other Sciences, if we reduce it only to the terminations of a language, as *Cornelius Nepos*, and other grave Authors have done, is but in little use among the *Chinæs*: for all their words being *Monosyllables* and undeclinable, there is not much paines required to put them together in *syntax*: yet notwithstanding all this, there is a great deal of difficulty in composing, the which consisteth in placing of adverbs and certain termes, which are not significant: but if we should enlarge the *Grammar*, as far as *Angelus Politianus*, and some others have stretched it, it is certain, that there is great use of *Grammar* among them; for their humane learning is very large and vaft; and although they have but few fables or mysteries, yet they have many Histories, Sayings, Sentences, and *Apophthegmes*, which they must make use of for the ornament of their compositions.

For *Logick*, they have no other rules, but what are dictated to them by the light of nature.

Rhetorick is much in use among them, although they have no rules belonging to that art, but rather take it up by way of *Imitation*, observing and practising what they find to be good in the compositions of others.

Arithmetick they have in perfection, for as much as concerneth the four *Species* and kinds thereof : they have also their demonstrations, and figures, as I have seen in their books. Of *Algebra* they know nothing at all, nor do they much practise the ordinary *Arithmetick*. The way of account through the whole Kingdom, and also in the neighbouring Countries, is with an instrument, called by the *Portugættes*, *Gins*, and of the *Chinæs*, *Suonpoes*, that is, a Table of account: it is made like a small square, divided into ten parts, with certain little rods or wyres of brasse, upon each of which are threaded seaven little balls or beads, about the bignesse of those we use in our Chaplets or Rosaries : five beneath (for the wyre is divided into two parts) which stand for *units*; two above, which signify *tens*: and with this instrument, moving up and down the little balls, they make their accounts with great facilitie and expedition.

In *Geometrie* they have a sufficient knowledge, for although, not being acquainted with remote Countries and Kingdomes, they have not been able to distinguish their bounds, nor to assign them their proper confines : yet they have very exactly divided their own country, of which they have very perfect *maps*. Add to this, that anciently all their land was divided by very exact measures : because the King had not his revenue then, in that manner, as he hath it now, that is, that every land should pay so much, but every one divided his land into ten equall parts, and one of those parts, which lay nighest to the middle, they tilled and sowed, and the profit was the Kings: and even now a daies, in buying and selling

of land, they measure it, if there be occasion.

The measure which they use upon this occasion, as likewise to measure any other continued quantity, is in this manner. The least of all, they call *Husnen*, and is three graine of wheat. Ten of these make the seconde measure, called *Huzum*; ten *Huzums* make a *Che*; and ten *Che's* make their greatest measure called *Hucham*, bigger than an *Italian* yard. These measures, the which they have perfectly divided in the manner above-said, are used by all Officers, as also by taylors, to make their garments, taking measure by them, as we do in *Europe* with a piece of thread, or Parchment: so likewise, the Carpenters frame a houfe, though never so big, with all its pillars, beams, joyces, etc. Without so much as trying a piece of timber, where it is to stand, only by meane of these measures, and having framed a house thus in severall pieces; they will on a sudden joyn them together and set it up, without missing in the least.

Their wayes they measure by *paces*, but still according to the same measure, making a Geometrical pace to consist of 6 *Che*, and one *Li* of 300 paces, and of 100 *Li* one *Stadium*, or daies journey. So that from North to South it appeareth that 250 *Li* make a *degree*; for we allow to every league 15 *Li*, and 16 leagues to every degree.

To measure corn, rice, pulse, and such like, the greatest measure is, that which the *Portugesses* call *Pico*, and the *Chinneses* *Tan*. This is composed of smaller measures: the least is as much as a man can hold in the hollow of his hand; ten of these measures make one *Xim*; (and this of rice is the ordinary allowance of a man for a day) ten *Xim* make one *Ten*, and ten *Ten* make one *Tan*, which cometh to weight about 100 *Castes*, which make 125 pound of *Portugall weight*, 16 ounces to the pound.

The third manner of measuring, which is by weight, is divided after the same manner. We will begin with an *Ha*, and it is the tenth part of a piece of their mony, which the *Portugesses* call *Caxi*, or *Li*, as the *Chinneses* call it: and answere to our half *Folio* or three-pence: ten *Li* make one *Condrin*; ten *Condrin* one *Mas*; ten *Mas* one *Tael*; and 16 *Tael* one *Carey*, which is their pound, but bigger than ours; for 16 *Tael* make 20 of our pounds: 100 *Caste* make one *Pico*; or, as they call it, one *Tan*. In weighing they use not the Balance, but the *Stillyard*, or *statera*, as wel for little, as great weights. For great weights, they do not use an Iron-beam, but of wood, divided into its parts by points or marks of Brasse, or else of silver. In weighing of gold, silver, medicines, and the like, they make use of certain little weights, with a beam of white bone, divided by strokes of black. They make these *Stillyards* very perfectly, and of severall fashions: The middle sized have three rowes of pricks, and three threads neare the Centre in stead of a cord, the first row of pricks giveth any weight from 3ounces to five; the second goeth further, and weigheth to ten ounces; the last row to 20. The larger sort of *Stillyards* weigh more or les, the least sort are divided into so small parts, that although those ten parts, into which a *Li* of silver is divided, do not use to be divided in brasse mony, (for they coine no mony but of brasse) nevertheless in the weighing of silver they distinguish and divide them very exactly.

For the better understanding whereof, it is to be supposed, that throughout

out all the Kingdome of *China*, excepting the Province of *Tunian*, they use no other money but of brasse; and all the silver goeth by weight, so that if I would give a crowne, I give as much silver, as a crowne weigheth, and so of a six-pence or three-pence, &c. And for this cause there are an infinite of founders, as also mint-houfes for silver: and to buy some things, especially such as are of small value, silver of base alloy will serve the turn; and so base, that in some Provinces, of one six-pence they make eight or ten; and reape much benefit by it. Other things cannot be bought but with fine silver, and so the poore silver goeth often to the fire, to be otherwise qualified.

They are great lovers of the *Mathematicques*, but to speak generally, they know very little of them; none being allowed to study them professedly, except those, who apply themselves to this study, by the Kings speciall order; and these are only two throughout the whole Kingdome; The one in the Court of *Pekim*, and the other in that of *Nankim*; with a traine and attendance of *Mandarines*, and the Title of the Kings *Mathematicians*: These teach their art but only to their sonnes, who always succeed them; and are but moderately knowing in their profession. Nevertheless, they have many ancient books of this science; not only of the course and motion of the stars, planets, and several other things, but also of *Judicall Astrologie* and *Horoscopes*, to which they are much addidged. By these books they find out, when the *Eclipses* of the sun and moone are to be; and have maps of the stars, though not in great perfection, yet tolerably good. They reckon a greater number of stars than we. They make the elements to be five, that is, water, metall, fire, wood, and earth. Over these they asigne five predominant planets: as *Mercury* over the water, *Venus* over metall, *Mars* over fire, *Jupiter* over wood, and *Saturn* over the earth. They are great obervers of the motions of the heavens; They distinguish the fealcons of the yeare by the *Aquinoxes* and *Solstices*. They divide the *Zodiack* into 24. signes, doubling our number. They make the yeare to consist of twelve moones; and 354. dayes, having six months of thirty days, and six of 29, and when it is leap-yeare, which fallith out every three years, it consisteth of 13 moones and 383. dayes.

Their yeare beginneth with the new moone, which is neerest to our month of *February*. From the observation of the heavens and their motion, they proceed to the *Judicall* part, referring severall events to the conjunctions of the planets, and celestiall appearances of *Phenomena*, which they diligently observe: and if there fall out any new or strange appearance, they presently give the King notice of it by a petition; and to this end in both Courts there is a very high place or Tower, furnished with severall mathematical instruments, which they call *Quon Siam Thai*, that is, a place to observe the stars in.

Of that in *Nankim* I have already said somthing, when I spake of that City. In *Pekim* the chiefest instruments are a sphære, like that at *Nankim* with all his *Circles*, *Aquator*, *Zodiack*, *Tropicks*, &c. of cast metall, and excellent workmanship. Another instrument of the same bignesse, (that is, of 24. foot in circumference,) divided into severall circles, some fixt, others moveable, a stile or *Gnomon* in the middle, and little holes at each

each end to take the hight of the stars, the degrees and elevation of the Pole, &c. There is moreover a celestiall Globe of brasse of the same bignesse, divided into its degrees, with its constellations, whereof they make only 28. They have also a *Style* of brasse very large, divided proportionably, with which they measure the shadowes of the four seasons of the yeare; that is, of the *Aquinoxes* and *Solstices*. There are besides, many other moveable instruments of brasse, for severall uses, which do sufficiently demonstrate the curiositie of their Ancestours, and how much more diligent and intelligent they were than the Modernes.

Musick was anciently much esteemed in *China*, in so much that their Philosopher *Confucius*, in the Countrie where he governed, one of the chiefe things he tooke paines in, was to cause them to be taught *Musick*. Now adays the *Chineſſes* lament and say, that the true rule thereof is lost, and almost all the ancient books that treated of *Musick*: So that that *Musick*, which they have at present, is not esteemed off by the *Nobilitie*: The greatest use they make of it, is in their comedies. There are also particular *Musicians*, who are sent for to their feasts, marriages, and the birth of their children; and of these there are some that may be endured. There are not wanting also blind men, who go singing about the streets, and at the doores of their houses: and as all the *Chineſſes* do make a feast on their birth-dayes, these blind men do keep in their memorie the punctual time of all the birth dayes of persons of qualitie, and know their houſes well; and at those times do never fail to go thither to sing. The *Bonzi* do ſue *Musick* in their offices and mortuaries, the Tone whereof is not much unlike our *Cantus firmus*, or plainſong: though they have not formally either plainſong or Organ-note; for they do not raise, nor fal their voice immediately from a note to the next note or half-note, but mediately rafe and fal it to a third, a fifth, or an eight: in which the *Chineſſes* do much delight.

They have twelve Tones, ſix to riſe, which they call *Liue*, and ſix to fall, which they call *Liu*. They have alſo their notes in ſinging like ours of, *w, re, mi*; they are five, and among them is our *ut*: in learning of *Musick* they make no uſe of ſigues, nor of the joints of the fingers; nor in compoſing do they uſe lines, as we do: it is therefore to be ſuſpoſed, that in their conſorts, they have not a *Musick* formed of diſterne parts: for althoſh many do ſing together, all is but *unison*, as is in uſe almoſt throughout all *Aſia*. Therefore their *Musick* is pleaſing only to thoſe of their owne Country, but their beſt way of ſinging is, one voice only with an Inſtrument. Neither are they delighted with our full *Musick*, but very muſh with a ſingle voice.

They uſe *keeping of time*, but cannot tell how many diſerenties it hath, and ſo in ſinging ancient ſongs, and moderne ones, upon the ſame ayre with the old, they hence know the time, when they are to ſing, and when they are to ſtop. Concerning their inſtruments, they ſay they have ſeven ſeveral kinds of tones, beſides a mans voice; and according to theſe they have made their *Musicall Inſtruments*. The firſt is of mettal, and containeth bells of all ſorts, *Cimballs, Sifra, &c.* The ſecond of ſtone. They make an Inſtrument of Jasper, like unto the Italian ſquadra, excepting that the lowermoſt end is very large, and they ſtrike or play upon it, as it hangs up. The

The third is of ſkin: here come in our ordinary drums, and thoſe of the *Moreſco* fashion, or *kettle drums*; which they make of ſeveral fashions: and ſome ſo big, that they cannot be plaid upon, unleſſe they be hung up in frames of wood. The fourth is of ſilke, of which they make ſtrings for inſtruments as here we make lute-ſtrings of gutts. For ſtringed inſtruments, they have the vyoſl almost like ours, but it hath only 3 ſtrings, and is the uſual inſtrument of the blind man. They uſe alſo the violin with 3 ſtrings and its bow; they have alſo another with one only ſtring, which they play on, like to our *Bow vyoſl*. The chiefest ſtringed inſtrument which they have, is of ſeven ſtrings, and is in more eſteem than the reſt; and if the *Muſician* be ſkilfull, it maketh tolerable *Muſick*. The fifth is of wood. Of thiſ kind they make certain thin pieſes of board, and laying them together, they play upon them all at once, like ſnappers or *cifagness*: the *Bonzi* alſo have a particuſar way by themſelves, of ſtriking and playing upon a piece of wood, and that with much *keeping of time*.

The sixth is of thoſe inſtruments which are founded with the mouth, as flutes, of which they have 2 or 3 ſorts, & ſo ſound them very excellently. They have alſo another inſtrument made of ſeveral pipes, like the fashion of our *Organ*, but it is but ſmall, and to be carried in ones hand. They ſound it with their mouths, and the Harmony is excellent. Now ſometimes all theſe inſtruments are plaid on together, and make a pleaſing *Muſick*.

Poēſie hath ever been much esteemed in *China*, and in the timē, when there were many Kings, *Federaly to one Emperor*, when they came to do him homage (as they did every three years) they were obliged each of them to bring with him out of his Kingdom, the Rythmes and Poēſies, which were there moſt current and in uſe, that by them he might judge of their manners and cuſtomes, which truly are truſh discovered in ſuch compositions. In thiſ particular, the *Chineſſes* haue a great advantage over all others, because they are very modeſt, in whatuoer they write; and it is very rare to find a loſe word in their verſes: and (what is more,) they haue no letters whereby to exprefſe the *privy parts*; nor are they to be found written in any part of all their books.

They haue great variety of verſes, and do uſe a conſonancie of meeter, like to that in the *Songs, Ballads, Sonets, and Madrigals of Europe*: and they put also the corespondency of the Rythmes, at the end of each; and ſo many verſes, as we do in our *sixtes & octaves*, in which they uſe great variety.

They compoſe likewiſe verſes by the number of ſyllables, the which they call *words*: for as in their language, all words are *Monofyllable*, there cometh to be no diſference betwixt a ſyllable and a word, which conſiſteth of one only letter, which is likewiſe pronounced a *Monofyllable*. So that all letters being thus after the ſame manner, the quantity of the verſe conſiſteth in the number of them; ſo that as we compoſe verſes here of five, ſeven, or eleaven ſyllables, ſo alſo the *Chineſſes* make theirs of five, ſeven, or more letters: whereaſe among us two words, and ſometimes one may take up the whole verſe: it can never fall out ſo in theirs, because all their words are of one ſyllable and one letter. They haue not verſes that anſwer to our latin verſes, with feet, as *Dactils* or *Spondees*, &c. But are all made like our *Sonets* and *Dities*, and other verſes in Rythme, in which they

they use many various forms and manners of compositions. The chiefest are eight: it will be sufficient to relate one to you, to give you some knowledge of the rest.

In this kind of *Poësie* the verses are to be eight in number, consisting each of them of five letters, and the consonancy of rythme to be every other verse, in this manner: The first may have it, or no, as they please; but the second must rhyme to the fourth; The fifth with the sixth; the seventh with the eighth: The third, fifth and seaventh have no consonancy of rime, but the letters are to be correspondent to one another: as also the veries, that do observe a consonancy, are likewise to have their letters to correspond to one another; the fist with the fist, the second with the second, &c. And this correspondence consisteth not in riming, but in the signification; wherefore if the fist letter of the second verse signifie a mountaine, water, fire, or whatsoever else, the fist letter of the fourth verse must likewise signifie the same thing; which is likewise observed in the second, and in the rest of the letters, of the whole verse. This is a very Artificial way, but difficult.

In the conceits of their verses, and in the figures with which they express themselves, they use almost the same manner with us in *Europe*. They have another kind of verse, of less esteeme, like ordinary rimes, which are every where in request: but the *Nobilissima*, and particularly those of the Kings kindred and blood-royall, are much additted unto the eighth manner of verses above mentioned, in which they make many severall *Poetess*, chiefly in commendation of their friends, of famous men, of the dead, and of severall vertues.

In *Painting* they have more curiositie than perfection. They know not how to make use either of *Oyles*, or *Shadowing* in this Art; and do therefore paint the figures of men without any grace at all : but trees, flowers, birds, and such like things, they paint very much to the life. But at present there are some of them, who have been taught by us, that use *Oyles*, and are come to make perfect pictures.

Medicine, or Physick, is in a very good condition in China, because they have abundance of good ancient bookees of that art, b-^{ring} all their owne authours, for ours are not yet arrived thither. They do not let blood, nor set or Cupping-Glasses; They use no sirrops, no potions, no pills; much lesse have they the use of Cauteries, or iſſues, a medicine of great advantage; They are only *Herballists*, using nothing but herbs, rootes, fruits, seeds, &c. and all drie: and for a greater supply, that which they have not in some Provinces is brought them from others: so that there are whole Faires only of medicines; and in the Cities and Townes the Apothecaries shoppes are very well provided, from whence they furnish themselves. But neither in bottles nor glasseſ; but of all others the Physicians are well provided; because they never write any receipt, but give the medicine themſelves to the patient whom they visit. And all is done at the same visit, therefore the Physician hath alwayes following him a boy, carrying a Cabinet with five drawers, each of them being divided into more than fourty little ſquares; and all of them furnished with medicines ready ground and prepared.

They

They are very famous in judging of the Pulse: never asking the patient, whether the paine be in his head, shoulders, or belly; only they feele the pulse with both their hands, leaned upon a pillow, or some other such thing, obseruing the motion of the pulse for a good while; and afterwards do tell, what the patient ayleth. I do not say that they hit right, on every thing, in all patients: nor that all Phyſitians are able to do it; there being many which do not ſtudy, and know but little; but the good and learned Phyſitians do ſeldome faile. We had a Father that was ſick of a violent ſtritch, in the Province of *Kiamſi*. The Phyſitian by feeling of his pulse could tell, whether his paine did increafe or diminifh, and all the changes and alterations of his difeaſe; and I have heard ſeverall *Portugueſes*, which have confirmed the fame by other caſes. Having felt the pulse, preſently they compose the *Medicine*. If it be for the King or Prince they make fourre compositions, two for them to take, and two to be kept, all of the fame medicines, and equall in number and quantity: The two are kept, till the patient recover. For all other perſons, they make two only, one for the morning, and the other for the evening. They write upon them in what quantity of water they are to be decocted: and how and when they are to be taken; and many times there do h follow a wonderfull ſuccelte.

I will relate what happened to a Father, who lay sick in prison in the City of Nankim. At the beginning of his sickness they sent presently for a Physician, and finding no effect of his medicines, they sent for another; & because the physick of the second had no better successe, and the malady still encreased, the Christians sought out for a Phyitian of more fame and reputation; who although he was very unwilling to make a visit into such a place, notwithstanding, at length by much intreaty he was perswaded to visit the sick man: He felt his pulse, and performed his ordinary ceremonies; among the which one was to lay his breast bare, which was full of spots; for indeed he had the Meazills. Presently he compounded three medicines, the first the patient tooke in the morning: the second an hour after noon; (These were a kind of pills, which made him go four times to the stoole) at night he tooke the third. The disease still encreasing, the Father was brought that night to such a condition, that he became speechlesse, and all thought he would have died; nevertheless he held out till the morning, when suddenly he mended so fast, that when the Phyitian came and felt his pulse, he found him to be without any feavour; telling him, that he was cured, and that he shoulde only have a care to eat moderately, till he had recovered strength; which accordingly fell out: for in a short time the Father was perfectly well.

They forbid not their patients to drink water, so it be boyled, or else
Chà; but they will not allow them to eat ; but if the patient be hungry he
may eat lightly and with great caution ; if he be not hungry, they do not
much trouble themselves to perswade him to eat ; for they say, when the
body is sick, the stomach doth not well perform his office, and so the con-
coction which is then made, is malignant and contrary to health. His
visit is presently rewarded with a moderate fee ; nor doth he returne, un-
lesse he be sent for, leaving, by this manner, a liberty to the sick person to
I change

change his Physician, if he think fit, and to send for others; as many times they do, till the third or fourth day of their sicknesse, if they see no effect of the medicines they have taken.

C H A P. 12.

Of the Courtesies and Civilities of the Chineſes.

AMONG the *Chineſes* to uncover the head, or to *Scrape* a legge is not esteemed any courtesie, but rather contrary to good manners; especially to uncover the head: But to bow the body, or at least the head, when one can do no more, are accounted termes of *Courteſie* and good manners. And to speak first in general; Their Courtesies are very low bowings of themselves even to the very ground; as is the ordinary mode in their visits and meetings: They call this *Ye* or *Coye*: Secondly they use the same reverence, and then suddenly to fall upon their knees, and in that posture to bow againe with their head even unto the ground: and in ſome caſes they rise up againe upon their legges, & repeate the ſame Ceremony three times; which is the leaſt, four the moft ordinary, nine the moft that can be; and that is performed only to the King. Sometimes they ſhorten it, making their firſt reverence ſtanding on their legges, and preſently kneeling down, they make the three following on their knees.

The courtesie of the women is the ſame which is uſed among us; excepting, that in ſome caſes, they alſo kneel, and in that poſture make an obeisance with their head to the ground three or four times, as civility ſhall require.

They haue for this purpoſe particular garments, which the common people do not uſe; it is alſo true, that among friends they do not uſe them; but never faile to do it with others: neither dare any one viſit a Perſon of quality without ſuch a *Veff*, or garment: But if they meet by chance, (not in the ſtreet, for ſuch meetings they carefully avoyd) and both of them haue not that garment above mentioned, which they call *Tai*, both the one and the other are excused from that Ceremony of the *Veff*: But if one of them hath it on, the other muſt preſently put on his; which for this purpoſe is commonly carried after him by a ſervant; and if by accident he hath not brought it with him, although he ſhould be never ſo much importuned by the other, (who hath his *Veff* on,) to accept of the accuſed Ceremony and Courteſie from him, he may not conuent to it, but avoiding the Courteſie, is to ſit down and conuerſe with him.

If one go to viſit another at his house, he muſt ſtay in the Hall, till the other hath put on his *Veff*; But if he be a friend, he is to come preſently, (although he be not ready with his *Veff*) and receive his guest, and to make much of him, and after that, he is to retire and put on his *Veff*.

This garment of Courteſie, for ſuch as haue taken degrees, is the ſame with the enſigne of honour, which they weare, in their government and the

the enſigne of their office. They that are noble by bloud and deſcent, do wear the enſigne and habit of *Dofours*, althoſh they haue never ſtudied. For Gentlemen and *Letterai*, who haue not taken any degree, there is alſo allowed for them to wear a wide large *Veff*, but much diſſering from that which is ordinariy worne. The Minifters and officers of the chief Magiſtrates, as alſo, in all the courts of justice, thoſe who are under the Preſident uſe this Ceremony, which is, to take off the badge, which they weare upon their breſt, and to put on a girdle of a ſmall price; which they uſe only ſome few daies in the year, when they go about, to make their obeisance. The young people, if they haue not taken a degree, uſe only their ordinariy habit.

The courteſie, which the common people uſe, is to clap their hands one upon the other, and lift them up as high as their head. The ſame is uſed by friends and kindred, when they treat one another freely, and without Ceremony; and if they be equals, they both together do the ſame reverence once; only he is eſteemed to haue the advantage, that stands on the right hand; as among us, that takes off the hat laſt, though both do uncover. Among grave people the ordinariy Ceremony uſed in their viſits, inviſitations and meetings, is, that, ſtanding on their feet they make an obeisance even to the ground once, without any more adoe: children to their Fathers on certain daies, as *New years day*, the Fathers birth-day, and other feaſtivals, uſe the ſecond courteſie of four bowings, ſtanding on their feet, and four kneelings on their knees, and they to whom it is done, receive it ſitting. The ſame Ceremony do the Scholars pay their Maſters; who receive it ſtanding. The ſame do the inferior Mandarines uſe to the Magiſtrates, and Idolatres to the Idols, and the Mandarines to the King; excepting that theſe laſt hold an Ivory Tablet a palm and a halflong, and four fingers broad, before their faces: finally, the King himſelf doth the ſame in the temples, and to his mother; and when he doth it, he holdeth the ſaid Tablet of Ivory before his face.

The firſt time they ſee one another, and are Persons of an equall condition, and he that viſitiſheth, or is viſited, will ſhew an extraordinary affection and reſpeſt, he cauſeth a Carpet to be brought and ſpread before them, and after the firſt ordinary courteſie, they performe the ſecond kneeling down four times, and then they do both together. They avoid, as I haue ſaid, all meeting abroad, as muſh as poſſiblē they can; but if they cannot decline it, they ſalute one another by turnes out of their Sedans, lifting up their arms to their head, bowed in form of a bow, beginning at leaſt 20 paces off before they meet, ſtill doing the ſame very leiuſurely, whiſt the encounter laſteth; If the one be inferior to the other, and be carried in a Sedan, he cauſeth it to be ſet down on the ground; if he be on horseback, he alighteth and ſtandeth on his feet, and as the other paſſeth by, he maketh him a profound reverenſe, even unto the ground: if they be not Mandarines, they performe the ordinariy Courteſie to one another: if they be common people, they hold up their hands, and paſſe along.

The ſervants in great houſes are not to do any reverenſe unleſſi it be at certain times and occaſions: as, when himſelf or his Lord or Maſter cometh home from abroad, or at the beginning of the new year, &c. They

fall down on their knees, bowing their head to the ground, once, or thrice.

The ordinary reverence, which they make before their Lords and Masters, is to stand upright with their arms hanging down. Those that belong to the *Tribunals*, and also the servants and serjeants of the *Mandarins*, in publick, alwaies speak to their Masters upon their knees; as also the *Plaintiff* and *Defendant*, with their caps off.

To give or receive a thing with one hand only, is accounted little manners, among persons of the same condition, and if an inferiour doth it to his superiour, it is an incivillity. In a word, they are excessive in their civilities and good manners, which seemes rather more proper for divine worship, than civill respect. To be courteous, and outwardly well composed, to do things with maturity, circumspection, gravity and eavenesse, they account among their chiefe vertues: all which are expressed in this word *Li*: in which they comprehend also the circumstances of time, and habit; and the *Thie*, with which they are performed.

The *Thie* is a bill or book, with folds within and without, being about the breadth of ones hand, and a palm long, and it is of three severall fashions. The largest hath six leaves: the middling three, and the least one: and all use them according to the custome of the Province and the quality of the Person, that doth visite, or is visited. The *Colai* seldom use other, than the small ones.

That which is used in the ordinary visits is white with a red streak on the outside. If the visit be for to present their respects, or an invitation to a feast, it is all of red paper: if it be to condole, or for the death of any one, it is accommodated to the colour of mourning: if it come from one that is in mourning, the letters are *Azur*, as also the streak on the outside; the paper is white, but much differing from the ordinary paper, being only used upon this occasion.

This *Thie* containeth no more than one line of writing, which is that in the Margin, if it be a friend, or one that would shew himself such, he writheth the line quite out: if he be not such, he leaveth out the two first letters, and beginneth at the third place: if he would seeme grave or stately, beside the two first he leaveth out also the fourth, and beginneth with the third, going on with the rest, which are never left out. The writing importeth thus much in English. *Your Lordships most intimate friend, and the perpetuall schollar of your learning. N. commest to kisse your hands, and to do reverence to your Lordship.*

This *Thie* is given to the porter, who presenteth it to his Master, and giveth him notice of the stranger, and who he is. Sometimes the visit is not received, but not the *Thie*; and then he that receiveth the visit, is not obliged to returne it. But it is otherwise, when the *Thie* is left, for although it be only given to the porter, because the lord is not at home, or because he will not admit of a visit, yet he is obliged to return a visit to the other. Inferiours, as Souldiers to their Captaines, the lesser *Mandarins* to the greater, cannot make use of a *Thie*, but they make another kind of the same forme, but much different in paper and style; neither may it have a stroke on the outside, or say, that they come to visit; but

but only, who they are, what office they bear, and what their busynesse is; and it is almost like a petition, which they call *Pimbie*, that is, a bill of advice. Those of the greater *Quality*, such as are the *Colai*, *Vice-royes* and the like, many times visit not, nor render a visit, in their own persons; but only send a *Thie* from their house, or leave it at the gate as they passe by.

They are as free of their visits, even to strangers, as we are to our familiar friends: but with the same facility and libertie, that they go to visit they will often excuse themselves, if they be visited; and it is enough to say, they are not at home, unless it be to a person of some great qualitie and respect, or that he hath often come to visit him; then they will hardly deny him admittance. By how much the person is of a greater and graver quality, with so much the more difficulty doth he admit of visits: and some to free themselves, & to avoyd the trouble of these *Ceremonies*, write upon a piece of paper in white letters, and clap it over their gate, *That they are retired to their garden house*, by which means they are excused from the molestation of these *Civilties*.

The visit must be, (like that of the Phyitian,) in the morning; for towards the evening it is not esteemed to be of so much courtesy; nor must it be a visit by the way, going upon other busynesse; and if at any time they make such a visit, they excuse themselves, saying, They will take another time to satisfie the intention of their obligation and *devoir*.

For ordinary visits they have no set time; there are times nevertheless, wherein acquaintance, friends and kindred are obliged to pay this *Ceremony*. The chiefe and principall time is the *first day of the new year*; wishing one another an happy new year: at which time there is a great multitude of sedans, horses, and people up and down the streets: for then visits are most fiequent. Many times they go not into the house, but leave a *Thie*, and go their way; and if they enter, they are obliged to eat and drinke, although it be but a little. The second time is on the *fifteenth* of the same month; But the visits are not so frequent, and the feasting more, because it is at the ending of the *fifteen* days, which they call the feastivall of *Lanthornes*; because during that time they set many of them up and down the streets on gates, and in windows; and some of them are very faire and costly.

The third is the *Third* day of the *Third moone* which is in *March*, and is called *Cinnim*. They go all then to the sepulchres, to performe there their sacrifices and other *Ceremonies*; and although they bewaile their dead, certaine it is, that the living make good cheere among themselves.

The fourth is the *fift* day of the *fift moone*, which they call *Tuom*. The people keep a festivall at that time in the streets and high-ways, and upon the rivers; although sometimes this is forbidden, by reaon of the disasters, which often fall out upon the rivers.

The fift is upon the *Seaventh* day of the *Seaventh moone*, at what time they begg abilitie and power of the moone; as also they do the like upon the *Ninth* day of the *Ninth moone*. They visit one another and send Presents; and every festivall hath its Presents that are proper to it.

Beside these festivalls, they visit upon occasion of death, of changing

their

their houses, of marriage, at the birth of a sonne, at the promotion to a degree or office, or higher dignitie, at the taking of a journy, upon the birth day, and especially when they enter upon any seventh year of their age, and in these cases they must not make an empty visit, but are always to send some Present.

When one undertaketh a long journy, all his friends visit him, and send him presents. But when he returneth, he is to visit and present them; who performed those kind offices to him.

They visit likewise the sick, but only at the gate, who seldom admit of a visit within, unlesse it be from an intimate friend.

In these visits, they are very punctuall; lions towards their father, scholars towards their Masters, inferiors toward their superiors, and the whole Kingdome toward the King: so that on his birth-day, at the four quarters of the year, and at the chiefe feastivals, the vice-ray together with all the Magistrates of the Province dispatch away an Embassadour to court to visit the King in the name of all that Province. They which reside at the court, as well Letterati, as Capitaines; on the same days go in person to court, to do their devoirs.

They have severall Halls well accommodated for the receiving of visits; the first is common to all. The visitant may enter thither and sit downe, without giving any notice of his being there; And although he finde not the porter to usher him in, they have another farther in, which they call the private Hall: Hitherto may their kindred and intimate friends come; but no further; least they should go into that part of the house, which is called *Hui*, and is the place where the women are; whither the serving-men of the house are not suffered to come, unlesse they be very young. In the outward Hall they come to receive their visitants: and after the ordinary courtesies are performed, the master of the house with his owne hands bringeth a chaire, and fitteth it with a cushion, and if they are many, he bringeth chaires, and accommodateth them for them all. And afterward, they al of them accommodate a chaire for him. He leaveth every one to take the place that is due to him; and if it be not, that some one of them hath a particular respect, due to his dignity or office, the sonnes, cousins, scholars, &c. take place according to their age; and if they do not know one anothers age, they ask it. The Master of the house taketh always the lowest place. After they are seated, prently the drink called *Cia* is brought in, which they also take according to the same order of precedence.

In some Provinces, the often presenting of this drink is esteemed the greater honour: But in the Province of *Hanchen*, if it be brought the third time, it intimateth to the visitant, that it is time for him to take his leave. If the visitant be a friend, and maketh any stay, prently there is a table set with sweet-meats and fruits; nor do they ever make drie visits; which is the custome almost of all Asia, contrary to the use of Europe.

In exercising their courtesies, (whether it be a son before his father, or a scholar before his master,) for the most part they are more hearers, than speakers; the young people being never forward in speaking. The termes which they use in speaking are very honourable, and full of respect toward

ward others, and humble toward themselves: and as it is not good manners to call any one *Tou*, in Spain or Italie, so neither is it among them to say *I*. Wherefore they never use this word, but other termes in stead of it as the Foster-child, the Scholar, &c. And the sonne, when he speakest to his father, namech himselfe *His youngest Sonne*; although he be the eldest, and is already married: servants to their masters stile themselves *Siaove*: and the youngest of them *Siaoti*: he that pleadeth at a Tribunall, stileth himselfe *the delinquent*; a Christian at his confession *the sinner*; the women in the palace (excepting the Queens) and the Eunuchs speaking to the King, use *your majesties slave*, *Napir*, every one else speaking to the King nameth himselfe *wifall, Chin*. If one doth not speak of his owne person, but of such as belong to him, he is to use modest terms and expressions, *The father* saith of his sonne, *My young sonne*. *The Master*, *My young scholar*, and the sonne speaking of his father, calleth him, *The father of the house*; *The servant of the Master*, *The Lord of the house*.

In speaking one with another they use alwaies honourable Titles, as amongst us *Your worship*, *Your honour*, &c. but they have this quality besides, that even to mean and inferiour people they give an honourable name, as to an Host, *Chiu, Gin, Kia, the man, Lord of the house*. To a barge man, *The chiefe man of the vessel*. To a mulitiere, *The great wande*. But if they would anger him, they call him by his ordinary name, *Can Kia*, that is, persecutor of the feet. To servants, if they be grave men, *The great master of the house*. To the ministers of the courts of justice, and to them which waite on the Mandarines, *Man on horseback or Cavalier*, and yet they always go on foote. If they speak to a woman, although she be not of kin to them, they call her *Tsao*, that is, sister-in-law; but sometimes it happeneth, that he which cannot speak the language well, in stead of sister in law, calleth her *Broome*, by an equivocation of the word.

In speaking alfo of such things, as belouge to him they speak to, it is to be done in certaine particular phrases: So that if he speak of his sonne, or servant he is not to say *Your Lordships sonne*, but the noble sonne, *Limlam*; if he mention the daughter, he saith, *The precious love, Limgar*; and so of others, even of sicknesse and infirmitie he is not to say simply, how doth he with his maladie? but with his noble indisposition, *Quo Ram?* Among the common people, (who do not use these Pundilios) if they do not know one another, they call *Brothers, Hins*. But if they are acquainted *I and you*, as they list, without any ceremony.

As they are so punctuall and excessive in the manner of their treating and naming one another, so also are they in the diverse names which they have, and which they take up according to their age. These are of five sorts.

The first is the *Sir-name*, which they take infallibly from their Father, and never that of the Mother, or the Mothers Father, but the Mother takes the name of the Husband.

The second is a name which they call, *The little or young name*, which the Father imposeth, when they are little ones; and it is commonly the name of some living creature, or flower, or of some day, &c. and by this name only the Father and Mother may call them; but the servants only by the

the first, second, and third, &c. as hath been said.

The third is when he goeth to school; for the Master giveth him another name, which joyned with the Sir-name, composeth a name, by which both his Master and Schoole-fellows call him.

The fourth, when they put on the *Netz* or *Coule* upon their head, of which we speake before: this is done when they are seaventeen or eighteen years of age: for at that time particularly, if one marry a wife, he taketh a new name, which they call a letter; and by this all may call him, except the servants.

The fifth is at the going out of his youth, when he assumeth an other name, which they cal *The great Name* or *Hao*; by this all may cal him, excepting himself and his parents.

Now to return to the Hall, where we left the guests conveising; at their departure, the Guests joyning all together make an ordinary reverence to the Master of the house, giving him thanks for their good entertainment; and he accompanieth them out to the street; where if they came on foot, both parties make ordinary reverence to each other and depart; if on horse-back, or in a sedan or coach, then they make three reverences; and the third *Congie* is made at the gate; where presently the Master of the House goeth in, and the Guest taketh horse; for to ride or take coach in his presence is not counted good manners. When they are on horseback, or in the sedan, the Master of the House commeth out again, and they take leave of one another, and when they are gone a few paces off, they interchangeably send a servant with an embassie or message (*To Pai Yam*) and recommendations.

When the visit is the first time made, and the Person be of quality, commonly tis with a present, assoon as they are come in: and for the most part in China, the ordinary and constant presents are some stuff, ornaments for women, things of tile; as Shoes, Stockings, Handkerchieffes, Porcellane, Inke, Pensils, and things to eat; and they do commonly choose those of the best sort to present.

The Present, if it be of things to eat among friends, it is to be of 4.6.8. or more things. With the present is sent also a *Thie*, or bill of visit, wherein is written what they have sent. If he do not accept of it, it is no disservice; neither if he take part only, and send back the rest: but he must answer him with a *Thie*, giving him thanks, and excusing himself, that he did not receive it; or if he take part, he is to write, what he took, and what he sent back. Among men of greater quality, and that will shew respect to a Person without doing much harm to their purses, they write first, the things which they will send, and send the *Thie*, before they send the present; of which, because it ordinarily consisteth of many things, they do not receive all; and he who is presented maketh a prick at those things written in the *Thie*, which he will receive: then he, which presenteth, buyeth only the things which the other hath pricked, and letteth alone the rest: if he accepteth of them all, he buyeth them all and sendeth them.

There are some Imaginari presents, of which, he that presenteth them, is secure, that little or nothing of them will be received; and yet they consist

consist of many things in number, as sometymes of thirty or forty: and are costly in their quality, and pieces of Damask, and other silk stoffe, silk stockings, and many things to be eaten, as Hens, Ducks, &c. These things are many times hired, and that which is received, is paid for, the rest are sent back to the owner, with some consideration for the loan of them.

The custome is, that he, who receiveth a Present, is to return another equivalent to it. Excepting alway edible things among friends, and that which any bringeth, when he cometh from abroad, and from Countries where those things are particularly to be had. Neither do they remunerate those, which they call *Presents of dependence*, as from the inferiour to the superiour, from the Master to the Scholar, nor of pretenders and suitours.

It is also the custome to give the Page or Servant, which bringeth the Present, some mony, more or lesse, according to the quality of the present, shewing great respect to him that sends it.

They of *Kiamſi*, as more expert in their expences, and more cunning in the *Lefin*, or art of thrif, are very subtle and skilfull in this particular, and for a Present which is worth a Crowne, they say, they are to give the servant six pence, and proportionably in the rest.

Of their Banquets.

Much time and money is consumed by the *Chineſſe* in their *Banquets*, by reaſon they are almost continually at them. There is no meeting, departure, or arrivall, or any prosperous ſuccesse of a friend or kinſman, which is not celebrated with a *Banquet*; nor any accident of diſgulf, or grief, for which they do not likewile make a *Banquet* of conſolation; nor any businesſe of importance, but it is to be treated of at a *Banquet*, neither without one do they begin any work, or finish any building. They make many others upon no other motive but this, *Comedamus, & bibamus, cras enim moriemur*; let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die.

It is very ordinary among the common people, and particularly among officiis of the same office, to have *Co-fraternities* which they call a *Brotherhood* of the month. The *Brotherhood* consisteth of thirty, according to the number of daies therein; and in a circle they go every day to eat at one anothers houses by turns, making a *Banquet*, like that of the founnes of *Job*. If they have not convenience to receive them in their own houſe, they provide it at another mans, there being at this day many publick houſes very wel furniſht for thiſ purpose. If he wil have it at home, but without any trouble to his *Family*, he appointeth, how many meſſes he will have, how many dishes, and what meat; and they are brought home to him very well dreſt.

Those of the North are very much diſſerent from them of the South; for they of the South are very exact, even to the leaſt matters in these courtesies of *Banquers*, and they do eſteem themſelves more friendly and courteous, than the others; as in trut̄ they are.

In their *Banquets* they are more carefull to have varietie, and to have it well drest, than for the quantite of the meat : and feast more for converstation and to treate with one another, than to eat and drink; although they do both the one and the other pretty well. They drink at the beginning of the feast, and so continue it with wine and meat, without bread or rice, till the guests say, they have had wine enough : Then prentely the rice is brought, and the glasses are set by, and there is no more drinking.

In the Northern Countries their custome is contrary to this : The ceremonies are but few, the Meates well furnishit, the dishes large and full : and when the ordinary ceremonies are performed, which are usuall through the whole Kingdome, they begin with the meat ; and every one taketh that which pleaseth him best, and as much as he can eat ; mean while without quenching thirst, either with wine or water : for then they drink neither. They conclude with rice. When the dishes are taken away, they discourse about an houre ; and then they serve in others, only of salt meats, as Gammons of Bacon, tongues, and such like things, which they call *Guides*, that is, of wine ; and then they begin to drink.

To speak in generall of the whole Kingdome; they do not usually drink wine, neither at dinner, which is in the morning five hours before noone, nor at supper, which is about fourre a cloake in the afternoone ; but at night before they go to bed, then using salt meats, as is aboveafaid : and for this reason their *Banquets* are most commonly at night, making use of the day-light for their studyes and businesse ; supplying this light at night with candles, of which they have great quanttie, made of a certaine oyle, which they harden up with a little waxe ; which serveth them in the winter ; refering for the summer those which are made of waxe ; of which they have three sorts : The one is Bees waxe ; the other is taken out of the holes of a certain sort of Snakes, much better than the other, and much whiter, without any art used to it. The third is taken from a tree, whose fruit is like our filberts, and the meat very white. And though this last, be not so good as our waxe, yet it is better than suet: it melteth very well, and maketh very good candles.

The people of the better qualitie make *Banquets* of more state; for they have howles of recreation, either in the City, or very neare it for this purpose ; adorned with many costly pictures and other curiosities. And if the perlon invited be an Officer, or man of great qualitie, although the use of *Tapestry-hanging* in China is very rare, yet for the entertainment of these, they hang their houses with them very curiously, even the ceiling and all. The number of their Tables sheweth the greatnessse of the *Banquet*. One Table for four, or one for two, is ordinary. But for persons of greater account they set one Table for each ; and sometimes two ; one to eat at, and the other to fet the dishes on. The Tables at these *Banquets* have all *Fron-talls*, or a peice of linnen hanging downe from the edges, but neither Table-cloath nor Napkins, using only their *Charan*, a neat and polished varnish, with which their Tables are covered. They lay no knives, the meat being all carved out before it come from the kitchin ; nor forke, using two little sticks, with which they eat very dexterously. They fet neither salt, pepper, nor vineger, but yet mustard, and other sauces, of which they have

have many and very good. They serve in at the same *Banquet* flesh and fish ; boyl'd and roast ; fry'd meat ; and meat in pottage and white-broth ; and severall other viands drest after their manner ; and very good. They use broths much ; but they never serve up any without flesh or fish in it, or a kinde of Paste, like that which the Italians call *Vermicelli*.

Anciently they ued neither Tables nor seats, but according to the custome of the greatest part of *Asia* and *Africa*, they sate and eat upon the pavement, covered with mats ; and to this day, their writings and books speaking of Tables, use for the significative letter of Table, that which signifieth a mat. The *Giapponeses*, with most of the neighbouring Kingdomes, even to this day, keep their ancient custome, of siting and eating upon the ground : but the *Chinesses*, from the raign of *Han*, have used seats and Tables, of which they have many beautifull ones, and of sevral fashions.

In the disposition of their invitations, courtesies, and entertainments they have much superfluite ; as well before the coming of the guests, as at the beginning, prosecution, and conclusion of their *Banquets*. Before they begin to eat, the master of the house inviteth them to fall to. About the middle of the feast they change their little cups for greater : they force none to drink, but modestly invite them. The times, when they most commonly and infallibly make their banquets, are the feastivall days, both of the year, and of each man in particular, as marriages, &c. Besides other infinitie occasions above mentioned.

The better sort of people, when one takes a journey, or returns from another Country, do make a *Feast* ; and it falleth out many times, that on the same day they are faine to go to seaven or eight invitations, to comply with their friends. Some daies before the *Banquet* (that is when they have time enough) they send a *Thie*, by which they make their invitation, and pray them to accept of it. If they refuse, they excuse themselves with another *Thie*. But if they accept of it, they send them another *Thie*, which they call the *Thie of solicitation*. The time of the *Banquet* being come, they commonly stay, till all are met ; entertaining themselves in the outward Hall. When all are come, they enter into the Hall of the *Banquet* ; and the master of the house performeth the usuall ceremonies to them all, as well in siting, as in placing the cups and *eating sticks*. The ceremonies being ended, they all feaste themselves in their order ; and the master of the house taketh care to go up and down, and invite them to eat and drink. Their *Banquets* are very long, and they spend much time in discoursing ; but the ordinary custome is to have *Musick* and *Comedies* ; and the Comedians are obliged to act whatsoever the Guests command them. At length the *Banquet* endeth, by the importunate entreatie of the Guests, to which he that inviteth them, still feermeth to make resistance. The day after the feast, all the Guests send their *Thie* to the perlon that invited them, which containeth partly the praise and commendations of the *Banquet*, and all that they had there, and partly their thanks to him that gave it them.

C H A P. 14.

Of the Games which the Chineſſes uſe.

PLAYING at Cards, (which are like to ours in form and figures, which are all black and without colours) hath penetrated, even to this remoreſt part of the world, and is the common recreation of the meaner ſort of people, but is not uſed by the Nobilitie. But the game of the Nobilitie, and graver ſort of people, as well to paſſe the time, as to winne mony, is that of Cheſſe, not altogether unlike ours. Their King can never remove, but into the ſoure neareſt places to his own Station; which is also the law for the two Bifhops. They have no Queen, but two other men, which they call *Vasi di Polvere*, or vefſells of duft, very ingenious: Theſe ſtand before the two Knights; and before them two Pawns, the which are placed in the next row before the other Pawns. Theſe men haue a motion like to our Rookes, but cannot Check the contrary King, but only when between one of them and the King, there is another man immediately interpoſed, whether it be his own man, or an enemy. So that the King may avoyd that Check three manner of ways: either by removing into the next place, or by interpoſing another man; or elſe by taking away that man, that stood betwixt him and his enemy, & ſo, by laying himſelfe open, he is deſtined.

They haue another grave game among them, which is as followeth. On a Cheſſ-board of 300 places; they play wi h 200 men, a hundred white, and a hundred black: with theſe, each endeauoureth to drive the others men into the middle of the Cheſſ-board, that he might be maſter of the other places: in conclusion he that hath gained himſelfe moſt places, winneth the game. In this game the officers do paſſe their time with a great deale of delight, and often ſpend a great part of the day at it; for between thoſe that are ſkilfull, one game will take up an hour's time. Thoſe that are expert at this game, are well eſteemed, though it be only upon this account; and are therefore often caſled and received, as maſters of this Game, with all ceremonie.

The Chineſſes alſo uſe the game of Dice, which haue the ſame ſhape and points, as ours, without any diſference.

The common people do muſch uſe a game called by the Italians *Gioco Della Morra*, caſting out their hands, and fingers, as they do at that game in Europe. They play moſt at it in their Banquets, between two, who ſhall drink; and he that loſeth, gaineſh the drink.

The Nobilitie, for this purpoſe, haue a drum placed without the Hall, where they eat; and there ſtandeth a man, who beateth on it at adventure as many stroaks, as he thinks fit; and when he beateth on the drum, they begin to count from the firſt man of the Banquet; and he at whom the drum ſtoppeth, is obliged to drink. In the City of Nankim there is another game much practiſed among the common people. They buy a couple of Capons, the beſt they can find, or elſe fish or Porcellane, or what oþer thing they pleafe; but it muſt be excellent in its kind to excite an appeti-

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pete in others to win it. Then one holdeth in his hand, ten pieces of their mony, the which haue letters on the one ſide, and on the other nothing. This man offereth them to him that will throw, and he throweth them ten times; and if in any of theſe times all the pieces light with the fame ſide upward, either written or not written, he gaineth the reward that is propoſed, if not, he loſeth an halfe-penny.

There is not wanting in China the game of Cock-fighting, which is uſed alſo throughout all India: they haue Cocks bred up for this purpoſe. Before they fight they fasten to each legg neare to their ſpurs a ſmall razour: then he that keepeth the field, having made the other fly or fall, is Conquerour, and winneth the other cock, and whatuoer was abeft on his head. But because many times they wound one another ſo just at the ſame time, that they both fall together, that Cock, which after he is fallen, pecks at the other, or croweth, is accounted victor.

They combatte after the ſame manner with Quailes; and to his purpoſe they commonly breed up the Cock-Quailes with great care. This Game is particularly in requeſt among the Kings kindred, and the Eunuches of the Palace, in which they ſpend a great deale of mony. Theſe birds do fight very furiously and deſperately.

They fight likewiſe with Grillo's, or Cricquets; and this ſport is much uſed in the Spring time. They haue little houſes made of clay very artificially to keep them in: when they fight them, each man pulleth out his Cricquet, and putteh him into a Balon, or other clean vefſell, and, with a little ſlice, or ſpatte, they put them to one another, and when they are neere enough to launce at one another, they do it with ſuch fury, that many times one will fetch off the others leg at the firſt blow. Hethat conquereth, preſently ſingeth, and winneth the game. This game is much uſed in Pekim, and particularly by the Eunuchs, who ſpend a great deale of mony at it.

They do not permit young children, that ſtudy to play at any game, the bigger ſort haue games proper to their age, which are very like thoſe our youth haue in Europe.

They are forbidden to play at cards or dice; and if they be taken, or accused for it, they are chaſtified and condemned to a pecuniary mulct; and ſome are imprifoned only for ſpending too much time at play. For among them *Tu Po*, that is, glutton of play, foundeth as ill, as any other vice, which we abhor here.

C H A P. 15.

Of their Marriage.

IN the Kingdome of China, (as doth plainly appear by their books, and Chronicles,) formal Marriages and indiſſoluble after contract, haue been in uſe above 2400 yeares; and in ancient time they uſed certain particular Ceremonies at the celebraſion thereof, one of which was, giving the hand. But theſe haue been changed by time, ſome being taken away, and many others added.

Always

Alwaies from that time to this, there hath been among them two kinds of *Marriage*; one a true one, with a matrimoniall contract for their whole life between the two parties; and then the woman is called a *wife*, and treated as such, and received with extraordinary Ceremonies.

The second is rather a *Concubinage* permitted by their laws, in case they have no children by their *wife*, especially sonnes, but now it is grown so common, that although some do forbear having them upon the account of vertue, yet it is very ordinary among rich men, to take *Concubines*, although they have children. The manner is very different from the true and legitimate *Marriage*; for although they contract after some sort with the Father of the maiden: and that they treat one another as kindred, yet in truth she is bought and sold; and many times by a Person that hath no relation to her, but only that he bred her up for that purpose; for there are many in *China*, which breed up young maidens, and teach them Musick, and dancing, and other perquisites of womens breeding, only to sell them afterwards for *Concubines*, at a great price. Yet however it is not accounted a *Matrimony*, nor hath it the solemnitie of *Marriage* belonging to it, nor any obligation of perpetuity; but the man may put her away, and she may marrie with another, there being no law which prohibits it, in case she be wholly withdrawn from the company of the first.

The manner of treating them is very different. They eat apart by themselves in their own chambers: and are in subjection to the true *wife*, and serve her in some things, as her Servants. The children which they beare, do not do them reverence as to a mother, but they pay it to the true *wife*, whom also they call mother. Hence it is, that if the *Concubine* die that bore them, they are not obliged to three years mourning, nor to deprive themselves of entrance into the examinations, nor (if they govern,) to quit their charge, which, (as you shall hear hereafter,) is to be done at the death of their parents. Therefore, although he be an only sonne, he is not obliged to these duties: but only when his Fathers lawfull *wife* dieth, although she be not his true mother. When the *Husband* dieth, the government of the estate and family falleth to the lawfull *wife*, and to the children, whether they be, by her, or by the *Concubine*. But when the lawfull *wife* dieth, it falleth to the *Concubine* and her children, if she have any.

Sometimes it falleth out, that they take a *Concubine*, and keep her only, till she bring them a sonne: for, if the lawfull *wife* will not suffer her to stay, assoone as the child is born, they send her away, or marry her to another, & the child which falleth behind, never knoweth her who bore him, acknowledging only for his Mother his Fathers lawfull *wife*. It happeneth also many times, that a man taketh an excessive affection to his *Concubine*, and then all goeth amisse, but only in what belongeth to the outward obseruance, which must not be changed. *Widows* may marry, if they will; but they that are women of qualitie seldom or never do it; no although they be young and have no children. They are to live in their Father in laws house, and are for this reason much esteemed.

In the legitimate *Marriage* for the most part, they obserue an equalitie
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of estate and condition; but in their *Concubines*, they have regard only to their naturall endowments. They may not marry with any of their kindred on their Fathers side, in no degree whatsoever, nor with any of the same Sir-name; but they may marry with their kindred on the Mothers side, if they be in a remote degree; but that is not so exactly observed. A young maid will hardly marry with a widdower, which they call *patching up the house, and the bed*.

They never marry, although they be never so great friends, without a Mediator, or one that goeth between both parties; wherefore they chuse whom they please, there being as well men as women, who perform this office. The *Bride-groom* never feeth the *Bride*, before he entreth the doore to take her for his wife: there Fathers marry their sonnes ordinarily very young, & promise them in *Marriage* even from little children, & sometimes before they are borne, which promise these punctually performe, although their Fathers die before the time, or one of the parties fall from his honour, or estate, &c. excepting both parties voluntarily agree to break off the contract: & if by chance the sonne for some respects will not stand to the contract made by his father, they compel him by law to perform it.

In *China*, before the Father die, there is no formall portion given, either to sonne or daughter, among the meaner sort of people the ordinary custome is, not absolutely to buy their *wives*, as some say, but the *Husband* giveth a certain quantitie of mony to the Father of the maid, with which to buy her clothes, and ornaments for her head, suitable to her qualitie. This summe is alwaies of the largest for that purpose; but the Fathers save as much out of it, as they can; what remaineth, being to accrue to them. Hence it is, that some have said, that the *Chinasses* buy their wives; there being not wanting some ground for this beleefe: for to this day they agree with the Father of the maid for so much money, which if it be not given them, they wil not part with their daughter.

Among the *Nobility* there is no talk of giving any money, but the Father of the *Bride* is obliged to comply with what the stile and custome of that Kingdome requireth, each according to their abilitie: and commonly that which he giveth is all necessary Furniture for her apartment, excepting the bed, which, although all things are very cheap in that Country, will sometimes cost fifty Crowns. He giveth her four or two maid servants, to wait upon her, and some money; and of all this more or lesse, according to his ability. But land or possession they almost never give, unlesse the Brides Father be very rich, or that he would match her to some principall Person, and that only in case he have no sonnes.

After the contract is performed between their Fathers, then there follow many curtesies and complimentes; as first, the *Bride-groom* sendeth the *Bride* a present of things to eare, as flesh, wine, and fruit. Secondly, a day is chosen for their *Marriage*: which, when it is resolved on by advice of *Astrologers*, is celebrated with great Ceremonie. The third is, to send to know the *Brides* name; and last of all, the *Bride-groom* sendeth the jewels to the *Bride*, that is, a ring and eare-pendants, &c.

The day before the *Bride* is to be received, they send from the *Brides* house the *Houshould-stuffe* and *Furniture* that is given with her, making a procession

procession with them; which is to be done about noone, that all may see it; The men that carry it, go two and two, each of them bearing a piece of household-stuff of the same kind, that the other doth, whether it be *Tables, Chaires, Chests, Curtains, Bed,* or what other thing soever.

The day following, in some Provinces, the *Bridegroome* goeth in person on Horse-back, with his Father and nearest kindred, to receive the *Bride:* who is carried in a sedan with great pompe and state. In other Provinces, especially towards the South, the *Bride-groome* sendeth the sedan toward the evening (they have some very curious ones, made only for this purpose, richly adorned with silk, and the doore to be locked on the outside) and a great deale of company to waite upon her with lights set in wooden frames like lanthornes. The mother after the *Bride* hath finished the usuall compliment, at parting, putteth her into the sedan and locketh the doore, and sendeth the key before to her sonne-in-laws mother; and so she departeth along with the company, who go all before her, excepting the maid-servants, which her Father giveth her, who go by her side.

When she is come to the *Bride-groomes* houle, the mother-in-law unlocketh the sedan and taking out the *Bride*, delivereth her to the *Bridegroome;* Then they go both together to the Chappell, or Oratorie of their Idols, where are likewise kept the Images or names of their Predecesours. There they make the ordinarie reverence of bowing themselves four times upon their knees, and presently they go forward into the inward Hall, where their parents are sitting in Chaires, to whom they make the same reverences; then the *Bride* retireth with her Mother-in-law, her wayting maids, and the woman that did negotiate the marriage, to the wemens apartment; where she hath a particular chamber for her selfe and her husband; into which, as is abovesaid, no other man may enter, no nor their Father or elder brother, so that if the Father would chastise the son for any fault, (which is ordinary there for their Fathers to do, although their sonnes be married) if he can get into his wifes chamber he is safe, for the Father may not enter there, nor speak with his daughter-in-law, except on some occasions, which are dispensed with. So carefull a watch do they keepon that *precious Gemme of Honour.* The *Bridegroome*, when he doeth not retire, stayeth with his Father, kindred, and friends, &c. Who spend many daies together in continuall feasts and banqueting; when the first month is over, the *Bride* returneth home to her Fathers houle, which they call *Quemim*, that is retiring to rest.

The sonnes do all equally inherit; although they be but halfe-Brothers, and not begotten on the lawfull wife, having regard in this only to the Father. The sisters have no more than what is given with them at their marriage. If the Father die before he hath married his daughters, the brothers are obliged to beftow them in marriage; and the sonnes that are already married, (if the Father in his life time divide his estate among them,) are bound to maintaine their sisters, till they are married.

Nevertheless in China there are some families, especially of the *Nobilitie*, where the eldest sonnes do inherit the *Majorasgo*, or the most considerable part of the land, if they have any that is so entailed; although they have other brothers. And these children are called *Que Cum, Chu, Hui, Henpe, Chei, Hei.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 16.

Of the Funeralls and Sepultures of the Chinesses.

Although the *Chinesses*, in many things, especially those which concern the government of their life, have been of the same opinion with the European Philosophers, yet they are very different from them in that which belongeth to *Death*. For the others have taken little or no care about the *Sepulture* of the body, whereas these esteem nothing more, using in their life time all possible diligence to leave every thing ready and in order for it; and their sonnes do in nothing more shew their pietie and obedience, than by putting it in execution after their Fathers death.

It is a generall custome of the whole Kingdome, not to bury any one barely in the earth, although it be a child of two daies old. Every one is to have his *Chest*, or *Coffin* according to his qualitie, and abilitie. Wherefore the rich men, (although the *Chinesses* are very thrifte, and parcimonious) do in this exceed all extremes, seeking out wood for that purpofe, of the greatest price and esteem, that they possibly can.

The *Eunuches* are the most excessive this way, because they have no children to inherit their wealth, giving many times 500 or 1000 Crowns for Bords to make a *Coffin*, though in realitie, these are not so much worth. For it happeneth many times, that going to a Merchant, that selleth this commoditie, the Merchant setteth them a price, asking them five or six hundred Crownes, but telleth them withal, that if they will have Bords of a thousand Crownes, he hath not any at present, but that he hath expected some a great while, and looketh every day, when they shoulde arrive: and if his Lordship hath not extraordinary haft, praith him to send some few daies hence, and he shall be accommodated. Here, the Merchant hath no more to do, but to change the paper, which is pasted upon those Bords, and with it the price; and when the *Eunuch* returneth he findeth bords of such price as he desireth. When the *Chest* is made with all sort of exquisite ornament on the outside, as of gold, *Charan*, and other gallantries, they keep it in their house, and many times in the same chamber where they lie, with much satisfacion and contentment. As contrariwise, if, being in yeares, they have not already made it, they are alwayes ill satisfied and discontented: and truly it is a great trouble and charge to the Sons, if they have ancient Fathers, and their *Funerall Chest* be not yet prepared.

This is the usuall manner of the whole Kingdome; but, because they have taken their religion from the *Pagods of India*, they have also entertained some of their Ceremonies and superstitions, who are buried after three severall manners, and that, before they die by the course of nature, in the earth, in the water, and in the fire, (as they do to this day in *Giappone*) some throwing themselves off from high places, others drowning themselves in rivers, with stones tied about their necks, and others, other wayes, which we will not here treat of. The *Chinesses* are not so valiant to do this, while they are living, but being dead, if they are so poor, that they cannot make them a *Coffin*, they burne them, and bury their ashes. In the

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Province of *Szechuan* they burn the bodie, and put the ashes in earthen *Jars*, close stopped; and then cast them into the rivers.

After the *Cheft*, followeth the place of *Sepulture*, which every one provideth for himself and his posterity, without the wals: for within, it is not permitted. Of these places they make great account. Some have in them very convenient houses: they are kept lockt on the out-side, and within are full of *Cypresses*, (which they usually plant there,) and other trees, proper for that place. They are many times little worth, in respect of the quantitie of ground they contain; but do cost them a great deal of mony, if their *Astrologer* do judge them lucky places, and fortunate for the Families; for none do make choice of them, without his opinion.

In *Burying*, they observe this order, to lay the chief of the Family in the uppemost place, and the rest by his side according to their degrees. On the topp of the *Sepulbre*, they place many ornaments wrought in stone; and before them they set Stone-statues of severall *Animals*; and (above all) *Epitaphs*, and stones graved with elegant compositions, in praise of the deceased. The great men, especially the Eunuches use another way of more vast expence. For they build in such places, *Sumptuous Palaces*, with Halls underneath them like *Cemeteries*, where there are *Niches* fitted to receive the *Coffins* of the deceased. These *Palaces* serve them when they go thither, and on *The day of the dead*, at which time the whole Family is assembled to make their *Sacrifices* and *Ceremonies*. For the poorer sort of people, that cannot have a peculiar place of *Sepulture*, there is ordinarily, in every City, a common place of *Buriall*.

They never fail to bury every one in the place of his *Sepulture*, altho' it be never so remote from that where he dieth, which happeneth often to the officers, who by reason they are sent to govern in severall parts of the kingdome, do many times come to die out of their own Country, and upon that occasion cause them to be brought home and buried there: neither doth it seem a custome vido of reason, *Jacob* and *Joseph* having used the same diligence upon that account.

At their death the first *Ceremony* is: that before the dying Person breathe his last, they bring him on a mattrasse, or quilt, into the outward Hall, where he is to expire. I do not know, what is the reason of this custome; neither is it generally used of all; for if he be a person of qualite, they neither let him alone in his bed, and assoone as he is dead, his eldest Son plucketh off the *Coife* and *Cap* from his head, and pulling down the bed partly by tearing, and partly by breaking, pulleth every thing down, and with it covereth the Corps. If it be a woman, the women stay, and if it be a man, the men, presently washng the dead Body according to their custome. When they have washed it, they wind it in a fine linen cloth, if he have any; or else in a piece of silk. After that, they cloath him in the best garment that he hath, and upon him they lay the ensignes of his office and degree: and when he is thus adorned: they lay him into the *Coffin*, which is made of very thick boards, and strongly joyned. On the infide of the *Coffin* they bestow two weights, which they call *Manos* of *Bitumen*; and after that one of *Charan*; and then

then there is no danger, that any ill smell can come through it.

The *Coffin* is then brought out, and placed in the outward hall, which is all hung with mourning. On the top of the *Coffin* they lay his statue made by the life, with his ensignes of honour, just as he lieth in the *Coffin*. Before it, they set a Table and a Carpet; behinde the *Coffin*, they hang up certaine curtaines; behind which, the women stand. On each side of the *Coffin* are his sonnes and grand-sonnes sitting on straw in very deep mourning. In the first open *Gallerie* set about with *Balisters*, which is before the hall, there stand Trumpeters on each side thereof; and at the great gate of the Palace, on the infide, in the Court, are two drummers: without the gate next the street there is hung out a great flagge, made of pieces of paper reaching almost to the ground, and it is a signall, that their mourning is provided, and that now they admit of visitants. After that, they advise all their friends and kindred thereof, sending them a *Thie* of Mourning, wherein, with words of much affliction and humilitie, they give them notice of their sorrow.

They presently begin their *Visits of Condoling*, which are done in this manner: When the *Visitant* is come into the first Court, presently he putteth on his *Mourning-garment*, which he bringeth with him for that purpose. The drummer beateth his drumme to give notice of his arrival, and while he passeth through the Court, the Trumpets sound; assoone as he cometh into the Hall, the women behind the *Curtains* begin to weep and lament. When he cometh up to the Table he layeth thereon a purse of paper; with money in it to the value of twelve pence, or eighteen pence; (which serveth for an *Aide* of the cost,) and some little perfumes: Then upon the Carpet he maketh fourre reverences, part kneeling, and par standing on his feet: When they are ended, presently the Sonnes rise up from the place where they are, and go and place themselves on the left hand of the *Visitant*, and make him as many reverences, partly kneeling, and partly on their feet, at which time they are to weep, or at least to make as if they wept: When this is done, without speaking a word, they return to their places againe. In the meantime the *Visitant* goeth forward, and presently one of the remotest of the kindred, in lighter mourning, cometh to receive him, and leadeth him into another roome; where assoone as they are sate, presently there is brought in some of their drink, called *Chia*, and dried fruits, or else dried sweet meats; of which for the most part they do not eat, but taking a little, put it into their sleeve, and so take their leave.

This courtesie is esteemed so due, that those friends, who are at hand, may by no means omit it; and they who are farther off, if they dwell in neighbouring Cities, come in their own person: But if they live very farre off, they send one from home to do it in their name. This *ceremonie* commonly lasteth eight or ten daies. But they who live farre off, may come, or send to do it, at what time they please.

Whenthe *Visits* are over, the eldest Sonne is obliged to go to all those of the same City, that came to *condole* with him at his house; but he hath no more to do, but to come to the gate, where (without a Carpet) is spread, wheron he maketh his reverence, leaveth *athie*, and goeth his way.

After this, they begin to think of the *buriall*, which (if they are able) is performed with a great deale of expence ; if not, they leave the *Chift* standing at home, till they are better able, which is some times whole years first. They give notice of the *funerall* to their friends, by sending a *Tbit* to each, as at the first : Who being assembled, come presently to the place above mentioned. First of all, are carried the *Pageants*, which are severall great statues of men, Horses, Elephants, Lyons, Tigers, &c. They are all made of painted paper, and adorned with gilding. Besides these, are carried severall other machines, as Triumphant Chariots, Pyramids, and such like things; every thing being set out with various works, in silke, and flowres, and roses of the same materials ; all which is to be burnt, if the Person be of great qualitie : For otherwise all these are but hired, and none of them is burnt.

After these *Pageants*, followeth the multitude of people which come to looke on; then come all their friends cloathed in *mourning*; after these, the *Bonzi*, singing out their prayers, and sounding their Cymbals; after them, come another sort of *Bonzi*, who weare beards, and long haire, and leading a single life, live in communite : These go playing upon severall musical Instruments. After these, follow another race of *Bonzi*, of a different sort; These are shaved, and go along alio saying their prayers. After these, come the more intimate friends; after them, follow all the kinsmen; after these, come the sonnes and grand-sonnes of the deceased Person, cloathed in a very *austere mourning*, bare footed, with certaine staves in their hand, fashioned like those which pilgrimes carry ; so short, that they are little above two palmes long ; and so they go along hanging their heads downe.

Immediately after these cometh the *Coffin*; which if it be made of precious wood, is uncovered, that it might be seen ; else it is varnished over, and richly adorned with gold and *Charan*. It is placed on a very large *Machine*, carried sometimes by 30,40. or 50, men, which is still the greater state, the more they are. Above it, is fastened a *Baldachino* or cloath of state, which covereth it all over head, having his rich Tassels and strings hanging downe by the sides. Neere to this on both hands, are carried many lights in great wooden frames, made like lanthorns ; behind the *Coffin*, are carried the women, crying and lamenting in sedans fast lock-ed, and covered all over with mourning, accompanied in the same manner by their female-friends and kindred. When they are come to the place of *Sepulture*, they performe severall *ceremonies* both before and after the *Coffin* is buried : And a sumptuous banquet, (which they make for all thole that accompanied the hearse) is none of the worst *ceremonies* among them. And this is one of the occasions, wherein they make use of thole faire houses they build in those places.

When they are returned home, then followeth the time of *mourning*, and the *ceremonies* that are then observed ; which are these that follow. The first and most univerſal, is to cloath themſelves in the courſe and heaviest *mourning* ; the colour thereof is white, not only in these Kingdomes, but also in Giappon, Corea, and many other neighbouring Kingdomes : and as it ſeemeth to me, this white colour was not choſen at the beginning

beginning for its one ſake, but came in, as it were, by confeſſion, for they themſelves cannot give any reaſon, why their prede ceſſours choſe it, and on the other ſide they know, that it is a cheereful colour, and as ſuch they weare it at certain times: the reaſon therefore of it ſeemeth to me to be, because in *China* they make no cloath but of Cotton, Silk, and Hemp. Of Silk and Cotton there is no courſe cloath to be made, but of Hempe indeed there is, ſuch as would make one afraid to ſee it. And because in its natural colour it is more unſightly and horrid, than when it is died and coloured, they on purpoſe chufe to have it ſo : whence it being naturally white, by confeſſion, white came to be the proper colour for *mourning*.

This *Mourning* laſteth three whole years, during which time, the ſons do never ſit on a chaire, but on a little fourm, or ſtoole, covered with *Mourning*: they eate not at a Table, nor lie on a Bed-ſtead, but the bed is laid on the floore: they drink no wine, eate no viſch, nor uſe any Bathes, (which are very common among them.) They go not to Banquets, nor do they go out of their doores, but in *Sedan* cloſe shut, and covered with *mourning*. They abſtain from their own wives (as they ſay at leaſt:) if there be any examinations in that time, they go not to them : they may not hold any publick office; and iſ, at the time, they do actually exercise any, their Father or Mother chance to die, although he be *Viceroy*, or *Colao*, he muſt leave his office, and attend to bury them, and to make their *abſequies*; and when the *Mourning* is ended, they returne to their charges and offices againe, and ſometimes to greater.

This time is accounted ſo ſacred among them, that it admitteth of no diſpenſation, except it be in their captaines and officers of warre. And becauſe one of the Province of *Cantone* ſeemed more diſſiſtive of his government, than to obſerve his *Mourning*, and computing his time, refolued to ſpend the reſt in his journey, which he wanted to makeup his three years, when he came to the court, and petitioned for his office, it was promised him upon this condition, that he ſhould returne home to his houſe, and fully accompliſh his time of *Mourning*, and then he ſhould come againe to court, and make his demand.

The number of three years, they ſay, is to give thanks to their Parents for the three yeares of their infancie, during which time they were carried more in their armes, than on their own legges. And therefore in thoſe three years, in token of reverencē, they may not innovate or alter any thing in the houſe from that order, which the Father kept in it.

For a wife they mourne but one year. There is a *Slighter Mourning* of five months and three daies, according to the neerneſſe of their kindred and relation: Friends for their friends obſerve only Three daies of *Mourning*. They have all *Mourning* garments lye ready by them, there being ſo many occaſions to wear them.

This is the manner of their *Mourning* and *Buriall* of the Persons of the greatest quality, which is encreased and diminished, according to the condition and qualitie of the Person. At the Funeralls of the Kings, and thoſe of the roiall Familie, the *Ceremonies* are much greater: and that they might the better be conceived, I will ſet down what paſſed

passed in the year 1614, at the Funerall of the Queen-Mother, where I myselfe was present.

C H A P. 17.

Of the Funerall of the Queen-Mother.

The Queen-Mother died on the ninth day of the second Moon, which is the last of our March, in the yeare 1614, prently all the Court put on Mourning, not only the Nobilitie, but even the common people too, and especially the Kings officers and Ministers, who laying aside the ensignes of their dignitie, (which are both of Authoritie and Ornament to them) do change them for others of Mourning and Sorrow: as their Girdle, which commonly they weare very rich) into a rope of coarse Hempe, and their Cap (which is of black Silk) into one made of the course cloath for Mourning. In this manner they went fourre months, till the time of the obsequies. The common people wore only a Mourning Cap for fourre and twenty daies, with so much exactnesse, that he that neglected it, was punished.

The second day, the King leaving the Palaces where he dwelt, passed over to thofe of his deceased Mother, which, although they are within the same wall, yet stand at some distance. They cloathed the dead body in white very richly, and every day till it was put into the Coffin, the King went in Person, with all the people of his palace to visit her, and to perorme thofe ordinary Reverences and Compliments, used by children to their parents, putting rich odours and splices into a perfuming pan, which stood before her; all his women, Sons and Nephews, as also some of the Principal Eunuches of the Palace did the like with all Solemnite. Then prently, by the Kings command, the garments, bed and other things which the Queen used, were burned: judging it an unworthie thing that euer they should be made use of by any Perlon inferiour to her in dignite and authority.

On the third day the body was put into the Coffin. The excellency of the matter thereof may be easily imagined by what hath been already said, that even for private perfons the price of one amoutneth many times to a thouland crownes. The boards are very thick, and the Coffin very capacious. There the King himselfe plac't her upon a Quilt and a Pillow, which were there laid, strewing upon her, pearle, and precious stones to the value of 70000. crownes, and placing by her side fifty pieces of cloath of gold, and fiftie of cloath of silver, which truly would have been enough to have maintained a gallant man all his life time. The Coffin was shut, and the King with the rest made their accustomed reverences, and departed.

On the fourth day the ceremonies were continued, cloathing themselves in a more austere and horrid Mourning, for to celebrate the Sacrifices, which

which in realite are not sacrifices, but offerings, and pure ceremonies. The Coffin was placed in a spacious Court, as it were, upon a high Throne, and about it stood fifteen Tables: The first, that was in the front, was for the King; the rest for his women, Sonnes and princiell Eunuches, who, after the King, according to their order, made their offerings with perfumes and reverences.

On the fift day, which was appointed for those who dwell without the Palace, there was assembled all the Nobilitie and Titulados, which they call Que, Cum, Chu, Cheu, Heupè, who do all succeed by inheritance. After thefe, followed all thofe that were of Affinitie and Alliance with the King, that is, such as were married to his Daughters or Nieces. After thefe, the Magistrates of the six Tribunals: And after thefe, came the wifes of the great Officers, who have jurisdiction over the whole Kingdome, such as are thofe of the six Tribunals, each in that which appertaineth to him; whether it be concerning the Revenue, or the Militia, or any other thing. All thefe in their order performed the ceremonies abovesaid: and fo there was a period put to the first part of the ceremonies, which are used in the Palace before the Funeral; for abroad there were many things commandeed, and severall edicts published, in which were intimated:

First, that all Mandarines, both of the Gowne and Sword, should make their appearance at the Palace the day following, to bewail the deceased Queen: which done, without returning to their houses, they should go directly to their Tribunals, there to remain and keep a fast for three daies, without eating flesh, fish, or eggs, or drinking any wine. That done, for the space of other three daies, they should come all to the gates of the Palace, and there in their order, one by one, should make fourre accustomed reverences, with some other extermal signes of griefe, and then returne home to their houses.

The second: that all the wifes of the Mandarines, from the first to the fourth degree, cloathed from head to foot in close mourning, should assemble at the same place, and for the space of three days lament in the like manner: and that afterwards, at their owne houses, for the space of twenty seaven daies, they should not put on their Jewells, ornaments, &c.

The third: that those of the Royal Councell, called Han Lin should all make Poems, verses, and compositions in praise of the deceased Queen.

The fourth: that they of the Quan Lo Su, that is, the Officers of the Kings exchequer and revenue, shoule, with all diligence and liberalitie, provide what ever was necessary, for the sacrifices and other expences of the funeral.

The fifth: that all the Bonzi, and ministers of the Idols, should ring their bells for a long time, as a signe of sorrow and grieve.

The sixth: that for thirteen daies there shoule be no flesh killed, or sold in the shambles: but that all should fast, as the King did; who, for the first three days, did eat only a little rice boyled in faire water, and the rest of the time, pulse only.

The seaventh: there was order given to the President of the Councell of rites and ceremonies, and to thofe of the chamber, that they should present mourning garments to all the Embassadours, who did then actually reside

sde in the Court; and that they should be brought to the Palace and performe one day the *ceremonies* and compliments in like manner, as the people of the Country did.

The eighth: that all *Mandarines*, that had finished their government, and all new pretenders should come for three days to the Palace, to do the same reverences and *ceremonies*.

The ninth: that the common people, for a week together, should do the same, morning and evening, at the Palace of the Gouvernor of the City.

Besides this, all the *Mandarines*, dispersed through the Provinces and Cities of the Kingdome, were written to; that at the arrivall of the newses of the *Queen-Mothers* decease, they should give notice thereof to all the blood royll of the Male line, and to their wives and children; and order, that they should make the three accustomed reverences, and other *ceremonies* on their knees; and immediately to cloath themselves in *Mourning* for seaven and twenty days. This order was given to all the *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, as well to those that had governd, as to those that did actually governe, as also to all *Litterati*, of what degree soever, as likewise to those that had not received any degree.

To the common people there was order given, that they should wear *Mourning caps* for thirteen dayes.

Moreover it was ordered, that as well in the Palaces of the *Mandarines*, as in the publick Innes on the high wayes, and in small villages, where travellers are lodged at the Kings expence, no musick, either of voice or instrument, should be suffered. And this order was divulged by *Mandarines* appointed only for this occasion. And when this order came to the Court of *Nankin*, all the officers, both of the *Gonne* and *Sword*, went out to meet it as farre as the river, all in deep *Mourning*, even to their *Umbrellas*, wherewith they keep off the sunne; and accompanied it through the City, in an orderly procession, as farre as the *Tribunal* of rites and *ceremonies*; where the President received the order in writing, and set it up in an eminent conspicuous place, and all of them did their reverence to it; after that, he tooke the letter and opened it, and made proclamation of the order, although there wanted nothing to the execution thereof, but that the common people had not yet their *Mourning caps*.

These were the *ceremonies*, which preceded the *Funerall*; the which being ended, order was given to the *Mathematician Major*, or chiefe Astrologer of the Court of *Pekim*, that he should make choise of a day or days, whereon the *Obsequies* should be solemnized. He, after he had consulted his art, appointed the ninth day of the sixth moone (fourte months compleat after the *Queens* death) to be the day, whereon the corps should be brought out of the Palace, and the fifteenth of the same moone, for the day of the *Funerall*. The time being come, order was given for the solemnizing thereof in form following.

First, that all the *Mandarines* of the Court, and *Magistrates* of the six *Tribunals*, six days before, should leave their own houses, and make their abode at their *Tribunals*, and should fast for three dayes in manner above-said.

Secondly

Secondly, that the Officers of the Kings Patrimonie and Revenue should prepare whatsoever was necessary, for that occasion; that is, great quantite of Candles, Perfumes, Spices, great store of *Phantastick* figures, and Images of men, Horfes, Lions, Elephants, *Vm brellas* of Silk, all richly set out, that they might be burnt at the place of *Sepulture*. It is reported, that there were spent in this above 30000 Crowns. I make no doubt, but so much was spent, but that it was afterwards all burnt, is hard to be proved; It may be, tame was something extravagant in that particular.

Thirdly, that they of the Colledge of *Han Lin* should anew, make other verses proper for the *Funerall*.

Fourthly, because the King was to accompany the Body to the *Sepulture*, which is twelve miles distant from the Court, he named another Person, who in his stead should performe all the compliments and necessarie *Ceremonies*.

Fifthly, order was given to all the Officers, *Captaines*, & *Souldiers*, that they should keep a Guard in the City, and at the *Sepulture*, and that they should accompanie the Body, by the way, in this manner. That at every gate of the City, (which are nine in all) there should stand a thousand men. That from the gate, through which the Body was to passe, to the place of *Sepulture*, there should stand two rancks of *Souldiers*: that there should be 3000 to carry the *Coffin* by turnes; and 10000 horfemen to accompany it: and for the Guard of the *Royall Sepulchres*, while the *Obsequies* lasted, 40000.

Sixtly, order was given to levell the way from the Palace to the place of *Sepulture*, and to raile it in on both sides, that the people might not stop up the way. At every twenty paces, there was set a basket of yellow earth, for to strow in the way, as the Hearse passed; as also, that Tents, and Pavillions should be set up in certaine places: for the refreshment of those that accompanied the Body.

Seaventh, command was given to all the officers of the revenue, that they should provide, with all punctualtie and liberalitie, whatsoever was necessary for the sustenance and diet of the *Mandarines*, *Eunuchs*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and all others, that by duty of their place, attended upon the *Funerall Solemnitie*.

Eighthly, that three daies before the *Funerall*, the *Mourning*, Lamentation, Reverences and Sacrifices should be renewed in like manner, as at the beginning.

Ninthly, and lastly it was commanded; that from the seaventh (that is, two daies before the *Funerall Solemnitie* began) to the twentieth of that Moon, no Shambles should be opened, neither flesh nor fish sold, in any manner, nor that any noise of mirth, or Musicall instrument should be heard any where throughout the City.

All things being set in order for the *Funerall*, on the seaventh of the sixth moone the King and Prince with all the officers, went to the Temple of his *Ancestours*, which standeth within the *Royall Palaces*: where, cloathed in deep *Mourning*, and coming before the Image of the first founder of his Famillie, he made a low Reverence, and after offered to his deceased Mother, whose Image was yet standing there, many Garments of

of silk, wine, and other things. Then he commanded that one of the compositions made in her praise, should be read; after which using severall other Reverences and Ceremonies, they all returned; and the King left particular order, that all thole Garments, Poems, and other things should be burned.

On the eighth day, were made Sacrifices to Heaven, Earth, the Planets, Mountaines, and Rivers, with great Solemnitie; when these were ended, the King commanded, that the same Sacrifices should be made to the nine Gates of the Palace, through which the Corps of the deceased Queen was to passe; and to the Tuelar Angels of them; as also the six Bridges of the River, which runnet through the Palace, offering in all these places living creatures, Aromaticks, wine made with severall Spices and ingredients, and divers other perfumes.

The Chest or *Coffin*, in which the deceased Queen lay, was of the most precious and dearest wood, that could be found in that Kingdome, and was shut and cloed up with all possible art and diligence, and clased on the outside with haps of Silver, made in the forme of Dragons: neither was there any Gold, or *Charan*, used for the Ornament thereof, that that precious wood might be left more bare and open to the sight. It was placed in a Triumphant Chariot very richly wrought, with its Curtaines of silk embroidered with Gold. Moreover the Chariot was adorned all over with plates of Silver, cast in the figures of Lions and Dragons, and other works; all performed with exquisite art and diligence. About the Hearse stood many Candles and perfuming pans.

The fifth day being come, which was appointed by the Kings Mathematician for the carrying of the Corps forth of the Palace, the King with his Women, Sonnes, and the Eunuches of the Palace, came to the place, where the Chariot, that carried the Hearse, stood; where, after they had renewed their lamentations for their departed Queen, they Sacrificed to the Chariot it selfe, or to the God and Genius thereof; that the voyage might be prosperous; and that the Body might enjoy quiet and securitie; then Sprinkling sweet waters upon the Hearse, they made their last Compliments and Reverences.

Prefently the *Eunuchs* (for no others enter there,) put themselves in order to draw the Chariot, the King accompanying it with all his Familiie to the last, that is, the eighth Gate of the Palace, where, with new lamentations, Ceremonies and complements, he took his leave.

Then within the first gate stood ready, they that were to receive the Corps, and in the Kings name and stead, were to accompany it, and to make the Sacrifices and Ceremonies, that were to be performed at certaine places. Then prefently began the Procession, with such solemnitie, order, and silence, that it caused admiration in all that beheld it. It went no further that day, than to a Town without the walls; neer to which there was a Tent set up very richly adorned, where the Chariot was put; and the Tables likewise being set, they did Sacrifice, and burned Incense and Perfumes, and performed other Ceremonies and Reverences; and last of all they renewed their Lamentations. From this place was dispatched an *Eunuch* to give the King full account, whither,

and

and how the Body was arrived, and of all that passed there.

The day following was begun with the Ceremonies and other Funeral solemnities, with which the day before was concluded; and their journey continued with such a Multitude of people, as well of those of the Guard neere hand, as of other people afar off, that were curious to see, that they were not to be numbered. By reason of the Sacrifices, Ceremonies, and stops which they made in the way, they were three daies ere they arrived at the Mountaine, where the Kings Sepulchres were.

Asloone as they were come thither, the Hearse was removed with many Ceremonies from the Chariot, where it was, to another triumphant Chariot, which they had in readineffe for that purpose, of no lesse cost than the former. After that, they Sacrificed to the earth, a Bull, with Spiced wines, rich perfumes, and garments, Suplicating to the tutelary Spirit thereof, that he would receive that Body with pitie, keep, & defend it, &c.

At the same time, nine Mandarines, appointed by the King himself, performed the same Ceremonies and Sacrifices to all the Kings predecessors, which were buried there: when the day was come, on which the Body should be buried, which was the fifteenth of the sixt Moone; they made many Sacrifices, and so put an end to the Funeral: when prefently the Mandarines posteſt away, to give the King account of all that had passed; which account was alwayes given him in part from time to time by the way. And he shewed his liberalitie to all thole that had taken paines in that worke: and to shew his care and piety, in all that which he ought, to his Mothers memorie, prefently after her death, he commanded that all prisoners should be released, that were not committed for any enormous crimes. He gave order also, that in the Provinces, where there was a Scarcitie of victuals, the ordinary Tribune should be taken off: and that alms should be given to thole that were most necessitous among them.

He ordered also, that the Rights and Gabels, to be paied at the Gates and Custome-houſes, which upon ſome occasions were lately impoſed, ſhould ceafe: and he himſelf, with his own hands, made many thouſand ſmall pieces of Silver which he lapp'd up in paper, according to the cuſtome of China, to give them in Almes for the Soule of his dead Mother.

Truly there is nothing in China, ſo worthy to be imitated by Christians, as their piety towards their Parents, and God having given to this Nation ſuch knowledge and inclination to vertue, it is great pittie, that they ſhould only want the foundation of faith. Hence we may ſee, with how great fruit and profit the Gospel might be preached in this Kingdome, or rather by the goodneſſe of the Lord, it is already preached, as we ſhall declare in its proper place.

It will not be besides the purpoſe of this diſcourse, to adde briefly ſomething, concerning the death of King Vanli, Sonne to this Queen abovesaid, the which fell out towards the end of Auguft in the year 1620. in their feaventh moone; forbearing to mention the Ceremonies, which were like to thole, we even now related.

He fell ſick about the end of June (in the ſame year,) of a loofenesſe and paine in his ſtomack, ſwelling of his feet, and other Maladiest. This infirmite

infirmity lasted two months with many various changes & alterations: after which, finding himselfe come to the end of his life, he called his Sonne, the heire of the Kingdome, with his three other brothers; to whom he made a discourse full of good advise and wholesome precepts, accusing himselfe of too much negligence, and want of care, and then gave them the last salute.

Then he made his last Will and Testament, the manner whereof is this. When the Phyſitians do deſpair of the Kings recovery, the Colai, if they be many, as they ſe to be, together with the chiefe of the Eunuchs, and the firſt President of the Palace, whom they call Suli Kien, go to the King, and endeavour to draw from his owne mouth, what his laſt Will is, and the ſumme of his Testament. After that, they go ſecretly to the Prince, the heire of the Kingdome, and give him an account of all, to the end nothing might be done contrary to the will of him, who is preſently to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdome.

When they have uerſtood, what both their pleaſures are, they put it into the form of a Will, and carry it to the King, to have his approbation of it. Then they preſent it to a Senatour of the roiall Colledge, called Hanli Yuen, to whom it belongeth to put ſuch writings, as concerne the King, into good form and ſtyle.

That done, it is cloſed up and ſealed with the Kings ſeale, and is kept in the Archives of the roiall Colledge, whileſt the King is living. Alſoone as he is dead, it is carried to the Tribunal of Rites and Ceremonies, to whom it belongeth to publish it through the whole Kingdome, and to put it punctually in execution.

The form of this Will is here faithfully copied and tranſlated out of the Chineſe language into ours.

**The laſt Will and Testament of our Emperor Vanli,
who in obedience to Heaven, hath reſigned his
Empire into the hands of Posterite.**

From a child received the government of this Monarchie from the hands of my Progenitours, and have held it forty eight years, a very long time: wherefore I have no reaſon to lament, that I am now to leave it. As ſoon as I was created Emperor, I had ſtrong inclinations to govern well, and to imitate my Predeceſſors; as in truſt I endeavoured to do, with all exaltneſſe. But afterward, being hindered by ſeverall infirmities for many years, I leſt off the care of having the wanted ſacrifices celebrated to Heaven and earth: neither did I caſte the offices and ceremonies to be performed, which are due to the memory of my Anceſtors. I ſeldome ſate upon the throne to conſult of the affaires of the Kingdome; I detained the petiſions which were preſented me, without diſpatching them. I tooke no care of nominating Magiſtrates, as the Kingdome need required; and I know, that at this preſent there are ſome wanting. I have opened nine mines of gold, and ſilver: I have encreaſed and multiplied the Gabells and Excife: I have diſturbed the publick peace with tumults of warre; whence hath followed diſcord with the neigbouring princes, and great opprefſion and injury to their people: wherefore thinking continually both night and day upon theſe things, I am hardly able to ſuffer the grief, which my foul endureth, and which doth

doth now defet her former faults: finally, I began to take up better reſolutions, but I am fallen into this infirmity, the which doth ſtill ſo encrease, that it maketh me beleeve, I ſhall very ſhortly loſe my life.

In the mean time I have this only hope left me, that my Sonnes and Nephews will amend my faults by leading a better life.

Therefore the Heire of my Kingdome, ſeeing that you neither want inge-nuity, nor good diſpoſition; and because you have hitherto never forborne the ex-erice of piety, obedience, and other vertues; be of good courage. The inheritance of the Empire of China is yours. Let your principall care be well to compose your life and manners. Apply your ſelfe with all ſtudy and industry to the well governing of the Kingdome. Love thoſe that are good; reſufe not counſell; take not aduice in evill part: that you might be able to beare the great weight of this Empire: do your endeauour that your Sonne my Grand-child, follow his ſtudies with all diligeneſſe. Be kind and loving to your three Brothers: aſigne them conuenient habitations; and provide for each of them a good revenue and honourable Titles. Uſe your uitmoſt diligeneſſe, that all your ſubjects, as well noble as ignoble, may live in peace, and love concord. Take care speedily to make the Colai, and other the ſupreme Magiſtrates, for I do remember, to have left two places veyd: and above all, forget not to elect the Kings Administrators. These things I recommend to you that you ſhould endeavour ſpeedily to put them in execu-tion.

By all means take off the new Gabells at Bridges, the Excife of ſilke, ſluſſe, eartheare ware, and other things, which I have lately introduced. Take care that all cauſes, which are depending in the Tribunals, be diſpatched with diligeneſſe by ſome ſelect Judges; and free the innocent. The ſoldiers on the con-fines of Tartary do want their pay and proviſions: let them be ſpeedily ſupplied out of the roiall exchequer (this laſt clause is ſaid to have been added by the Prince to his fathers Testament,) I do recommend to you the ſoldiers and Cap-taines, which were ſlaine in the laſt warre. Honour their Mortuaries, and their ſoules with new Titles; aſſit their families by paying their arrears.

All this I briefly ordaine, that you ſhould put it in execution, asſoone as poſſibly you may.

As for my Funerall, cauſe the ceremonys of the Kingdome to be obſerved. Though I had rather for my particular ſatisfaction, that in ſtead of twenty fea-ven months, as is the uſuall cuſtome, they ſhould only laſt for ſo many daies. All the Magiſtrates, Vice-roys, Viſitours and Captaines of warre, have more need to aſſit at their governments and charges: ſuffer not, that they be caſted hither, upon the occaſion of my funerall. It will be ſufficient, that when each hath newes of my death, he cauſe to be done, for three daies in the place where he is, that which uſeth to be performed at the Funerall of the Kings body. The Paſtilios, and other perfumes, want to be preſented on the like occaſions, may be brought by the inferior officers, in the name of the great ones. But for the Ma-giſtrates appointed for the government of the forts, and the Presidents of Cities and Townes, my Will is, that in no caſe they ſhould be ſuffered to come, as alſo that the ſtrangers, who are Tributary to this Kingdome, ſhould be excuſed. I do ordaine that this my laſt Will ſhould be published through the whole Kingdome, that it may come to the eares of every one of my ſubjects.

This was his will and Testament; which accordingly was every where published,

published. The other ceremonies I forbear to write, because they are the same with those, we have already related.

C H A P. 18.

Of the severall Sects of religion in China.

THe Chineses are generally little inclined to *Sects*; neither are there any thing neere so many among them, as among the people of *Japan*. Nevertheless they have three, which, although they be different, yet, that they might not erre in any, or to speake more correct'y, that they might erre the more, they joyne them altogether. Two of them are proper to *China*, and first sprung up there: The third, which is of the *Idols*, is adventitious, and came from *India*.

The first is that of the *Litterati*, and is more ancient among them, than some do think, who make *Confuso* to be the author of it. They worship no *Pagod*, or *Idol*, but acknowledge a *Superioritie*, or *Deitie*, who is able to chaffise and to reward. Notwithstanding they have no Churches, where-in they worship him; nor any divine Offices which they celebrate, nor any prayers that they rehearse; nor any *Priests* or *Ministers*, which officiate at his service. Yet they speak and write in their books of this *Lord* very *Honorably*, as of a *divine person*; neither do they apply or attribute any undecent thing to him, as our Ancestours did to their Gods. But as they did not perfectly and distinctly know the true God, they fell to worship three things, which are the most renowned, powerfull and profitable in the world, the which they call *San, Cai*, that is, heaven, earth, and man. There are, in the courts of *Nankim* and *Pekim* only, very sumptuous Temples for heaven and earth, but which do properly belong to the King alone; wherein he only in his owne person doth sacrifice; he being the Minister also of the sacrifice, and in his ablence, or by his order, the chiefe Magistrate of the Tribunal of Rites.

In the Cities, there are Temples for the *Tutelar spirits*, to which the *Mandarines* do sacrifice, as also to the spirits of the rivers, mountaines, and of the four parts of the world, &c.

There are also Temples to the honour of some men, who have been famous *Benefactours* to the publick; and therein, are placed their Images. They do the same honour to their Ancestours, untill the fourth degree upwards.

For their soule in the next life, they neither expect, nor pray for any thing: Nevertheless, they ask for temporall assistance in this life, good fortune, and to be able to imitate their good works and archivements.

They pretend by this to stirre up devotion in the people, that they seeing how heaven and earth are honoured, as universall *Parents*, they might also honour their particular *Parents*: and seeing how famous men of former

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former ages are honoured, they might thereby endeavour to imitate them; and seeing how their deceased *Progenitors* are served, they might learne how to serve them, while living. In a word, they order every thing, as it may conduce most to good government, to concord, peace, and quietnesse in Families, and to the exercize of vertue.

The *Second Sect* is that of the *Tauſi*, proper also to *China*. The Authour thereof was a Philosopher named *Tauſi*, of whom they feign, that he was eight years in his Mothers belly. He lived about the time of *Confuso*. He hath many followers to this day, who live together in communitee: they do not marry: they suffer the haire of their head and their beard to grow very long: in their habit they do not differ from others, except in some things at the time when they officiate. In stead of a Cap, they weare a little Crown, into which the knot only of their haire entreth. They place their ultimate Happynesse in the Body, in order to obtaine a quiet and easie life, without labour and trouble.

This *Sect* acknowledgeth one *Great God*, and other lesser one, all cor-poreall. They acknowledge *Glorie* and *Hell*: the *Glorie* to be conjoined to the body, not only in the other life, but also in this; feigning, that by meanes of certaine exercises and meditations, one may come to make himselfe a child, and young, and others to become *Xin Sien*, that is, the fortunate ones of the earth; obtaining by this meanes whatsoe ver they desire, and to be able to transfere themselves from one place to another, although never so distant, speedily and easilly; and other such like foole ries.

They are skilfull in Musick, and have good Instruments. They are alwaies called to the Sacrifices and Funeralls, and at those of the King and *Mandarines*, they are ever affistant. They Pretend to be *Sooth-Sayers*, and promise to procure raine, and to drive away devils from places that are haunted: But are able to do nothing; and sometimes at such undertakings they are foully routed by the devils: in great droughts they promise raine, and often prolong so much time in praying for it, that at length the time of raine commeth.

In *Pekim*, in the year 1622, there fell out a pleasant Accident, although troublesome. There happened a great drought, prayers were made, pennices and fasts were kept: but all to no end. At length certayne *Tauſi* offered themselves to procure raine without faille, and appoинted a set day and hour, the offer was accepted with great applause, joy, and good hope of the event: then they in a great *Piazza*, or market-place made a theater composed of little Tables, which, as they have many there of an equal height and breadth, they did set one upon another, beginning at bottom with a great many, and raisng it up by degrees higher, till with fewer Tables, till at length, the Machine came to end in one onely, obseruing an handsome proportion and reasonable height. On this last and highest stood the chiefe of them, praying and supplicating; and the rest went round about him, doing the same, like *Baals Priests*, (although they did not wound themselves; for in that they had great regard, as those who fought not blood, but water.)

The people stod all round about, expecting the event: and the Minis-ters

sters observing so great an Auditory, which was almost infinite, redoubled their prayers, their whistlings, and ceremonies. When the day and hour appointed was come, presently the Sky began to be overcast with very dark cloudes, to the great joy of all, and credit of their Ministers, who did already promise themselves the happy accomplishment of their undertaking; expecting every moment, when the raine should fall. When behold, of a sudden there fel a furious storm of Haile, the Stones whereof were as big as Eggs, and some bigger, which did ruine, not only their fields, but their Gardens, and killed diverse Persons, that could no time recover some Shelter.

The Fathers have writ me from thence, that they thought the end of the world was come, so great was the confusion and noise of the Haile that fell. The Prophets, for having procured stones instead of water, were all rewarded with store of Battinadoes.

The third *Sect* is of the *Pagods*, from *India*, from the parts of *Indostan*, which *Sect* they call *Xaca*, from the Author of it: concerning whom, they fable, that he was conceived by his Mother *Maia*, only upon the sight of a white Elephant, which she saw in her sleep; and for the more puritie she brought him forth at one of her flancs, and then presently died, being but nineteen yeares of age. And that, considering the death of his Mother, the cause whereof he was by his Birth, he resolved to leave the world, and to do penance; the which he did in a Mountain called the Snowy Mountaine, where he had fower Masters, with whom he studied twelve yeares; so that by that time he was thirty yeares of age, he was accomplished in the Science of the first principle. He took the name of *Xekia*, or *Xaca*: he taught his doctrine for the space of 49 yeares; he had many Scholars, who, after his death collected his papers, and spread his doctrine through the greater part of Asia.

This *Sect* entred into *China* in the year of our Redemption 63. The Emperour *Hannim* being commanded in a dreame, (as their books report) to send for it in, The *Bonsi*, who were the preachers of that *Sect*, were well received of him, and at the beginning, were very powerfull, much esteemed, and in so great number, that they say, they were three *million*. But at this day they are very few in respect of that number: whether it were that they trifling in their multitude, or in the Kings favour, committed some notable disorder; or (what is more likely) by reason of the misfortune that beset many Kings, since their coming in: and by this meanes they are so declined, that unlesse it be in the offices and Acts of their divine worship, there is but little account made of them among the *Chineses*.

Their *Priests* weare their head and beards shaved: their Cap is different, but the rest of their Habit is the same with that of others. They worship idols: They hold a Reward and Punishment in the next Life: They marry not: They live in Convents, four or five hundred together, or more: They have a moderate Maintenance allowed them by the King, notwithstanding, every one is allowed to get what he can: They begge, mutter Prayers: They sing: They have severall offices, and prayers against fire, tempests, misfortunes, and especially for the dead: in which

Functions

Functions they use sacerdotall, or priestly garmentes: Their Caps are like ours, and their sprinkling brushes without any difference at all: They eat neyther flesh, fish, nor eggs, neyther doe they drink wine.

They live inclosed; but within a very great circuite of wall, with long streets in it manner of a Towne, where, in every house there dwelleth three or foure, that is, one Master and the rest Scholars: In it they have all manner of convenience. That which the King giveth them, is divided equally to every house. They have also a *superior*, who is over them all, and governeth them, but at large, for he only taketh notice of such cases, as are proposed to him for the rest, every one governeth his owne house. He distributeth the offices among them, and appointeth such as are to receive strangers. When any officer arriveth at their Convent, or Temple, presently a drumme is beaten, which they keep at the gate; and then there are about thirty obliged to come and meet him, when they have put on their garment of *Courtesie*. When the *Magistrate* is come to the gate, they make him a low reverence, and presently turning about they go before him, waiting on him to the place, whether he goeth; and there they attend him, standing on their feet in the same manner, till he go away. They are properly subject to the councell of rites, who governeth them; but in chastising of them, when there is occasion, they are more favourable to them, than to secular persons.

There are others of them, that live in caves, rocks, and grotts, and some that make their particular penances in private; others that make little narrow lodges, knocked full of nailes with their points turned inwards, where they stand in sight of all the world, for the space of a month without leaning: Some of them profess to eat nothing, whilst they are there, but only to drink *Cha*. But those that are expert, lay, that they make up great balls of beefe, which hath been first well boyled, dried in the sunne, and then ground to powder; and that when they give them their *Cha* to drink very hot, they cast one of their balls into it, which presently dissolveth: which although it be no very nourishing diet, yet it is sufficient to sustaine them, and to colour their deceit of living without eating.

There be some who belong to no Convent, or Temple, neither are they Sonnes of any Monastrie; neither are they admitted into them, as Guests, but for one day only: They call them vagabonds, and among these, there are many times found some, who are very wicked men, and do much mischief, especially by robberies.

Notwithstanding the greater part of these abovenamed *Sectaries*, is not scandalous; but very patient, meek and humble; whether it be from the habit, which humbleth them; or from the little esteeme that is made of them, which keepeth them under.

There go abroad no ill reports of them, although they be frequently spoken off: And to mention those which appeare in publick, in two and twenty years, that I was there, I heard only two stories of them; and of one of them, the cause was not certainly known. In the City of *Hanchau*, there was found one morning one of them bound to a Tree, and stabbed to death with daggers; concerning which there was an ill judgment raised. In the village of *Xhanhay* in the Province of *Nankim*, during the

time that I lived here, a Bonzo was desired by a widow woman, to come to her house and to recite some prayers for the soule of her deceased husband: But it seemeth he chose rather to make a commeration of the living, than the dead: The fact was known; and for a month together he was expos'd to publick shame (for they do chaffise them very well) with a great square board about his neck, whereon was written in great letters the occasion of his penance. It is very much in 22 years to have heard no more against them. Not but that I could say something upon this occasion: but it is better to be silent, than to speak of it.

There are also Nunneres in China, who live after the same manner: They shave their heads; but they are not many; neither do they obserue *Clauſe*.

The end of all these *Setts* of the Bonzi is to do penance in this life, to be better provided in the next. They believe the Transmigration of Pythagoras, and that the soules departed go to hell; which, they hold, doth containe nine ſeverall places; and after they have paſſed through them all, thofe of the beſt ſort, are borne men againe, others of a middle ſort, are turned into living creatures, like unto men. But they are in the worſt condiſion, that go into birds, who may not ſo much as hope in the next Transmigration to become men, but at ſoonest in another after, having first gone into ſome other living creature. This is the generall beſliefe, not only of the common people (in whom, theſe errors are radicated beyond imagination) but alſo in people of better account.

But their *wifeſt* men, or to ſpeak more truly, they that are moſt given to *Aſteiſme*, forſaking this way, which they call the *Exterior*, do follow another, more *interior* or ſecret; the knowledge whereof they preſerve, with great care among themſelves; placing their whole intent on the undeſtanding of the *firſt principle*, (which is properly the doctrine of Xaca) whom they believe to be the ſame, in all things; and all things to be the ſame with him; without any eſſentiall diſference; operating according to the *extirpick Qualities* of the ſubject; as wax is formed into ſeverall figures, the which being diſſolved by liquefaction, remaine in ſubſtance the ſelfe same waxe.

After this their way; they divide mankind into ten *Clafſes*. The fourie firſt whereof are good; that is, *Principiantes*, or *Beginners*; *Proficientes*, or *Proficients*; *Proveſti*, or thoſe that have *Advanced*; *Conſummati*, or they that are *accompilisht*. The three firſt do walke well; although they are but yet in the way; but the fourth is arrived at perfection, by means of conſidering the *firſt principle*; and by mortification of their paſſions, which did diſquiet them with perturbations and ſcruples; and do already enjoy ſuch an internall quiet and peace of minde, that nothing doth give them any remore or trouble, for what-euer they thinke, fay, or do; affuring their conſciences, that after death they are to expeſt neither reward nor punishment; but that every thing ſhall returne to its *principle*, as it was at firſt.

For the other ſix*Clafſes* of men, they make ſix Hels. The firſt and gentleſt is of Infants, who have not yet had any expeſience of their paſſions, nor been troubled by them; especially by covetouſneſſe, anger, &c. The ſecond

ſecond is of them, who being placed in the government of the world, give themſelves wholly to the vanity thereof. The third is of them, who like brute beaſts, follow their paſſions and diſordinate appetites. The fourth is of them, that rob, wound, assault, and flay. The fifth of them, who ſuffer hunger, thirſt, miserie, labours, troubles externally in the body, and internally in the foule. The ſixt is of them, that take upon them voluntary labours and ſufferings, as the Bonzi, who do penance, fast, &c. This external life ſerving them only as a diſpoſition to the internall, the which being obtained, the other ſerveth them for nought, no more than the woodden engine, (which workmen uſe to ſhape a vault withall) after the vault is finished.

Now theſe men do eſteeme Hell to be no more than thus: And when they ſpeak of *Transmigration* into beaſts, they fay, It is to be underſtood of this life: As if a man be ciuill, courteous, and well bred; they ſay he is turned into a man; if choleric and furious, into a Lyon. If cruel, into a Tyger; if gluttonous, into a Swine: If a thief, into a Bird of prey. Hence was the originall of that handſome ſaying among them, *Ti Yo Thian Than Ti Yen Sin Yui*. (That is,) Heaven and Hell are ſeated in the heart.

These are the Three principall *Setts* of China, from whence have ſprung many others that are there to be found.

They hold, that they may be made all to agree without any prejudice to their obſeruance. They have a text, which faith, *San Chiao Te Tao*; that is, The doctriues are three, but the reaſon of them is but one. For althoſh the worſhip, adoration, and exerciſe be diſſerent, notwithstanding the end at which they all arrive, is the ſame, *Chiu Hua*, (that is) nothing.

The *Litterati* of the firſt *Sett*, imitating Heaven and Earth, apply all to the government of the Kingdome; of their families; and of their perſons, only in this life; and after that pretend to nothing. The *Tauſt* of the ſecond *Sett*, without any regard to their families or the government, treat only of the body. The diſciples of Xaca of the third *Sett*, without any regard to the body, treat only of the ſpirit, internall peace, and quiet of conſcience: Hence arose that ſentence which they uſe, *Fu Chi Que, Tan Chi Xin, Xe Chi Sin*, that is, the *Litterati* govern the Kingdom, the *Tauſt* the body, and the Bonzi the heart.

Bſides theſe three which are all admitted, and publikeſly profeffed in the Kingdome; there is another which is not publike, nor permitted; but is under a prohibition, notwithstanding it hath many followers: it is caled *Pe Lien Kieu*, and is exceedingly hated of the Chineſes, especially of the gouernours; because the diſciples thereof do conceale themſelves, doing every thing by night with much ſecrecy. It is commonly beleevēd, that their intent is, to exalt ſome of themſelves to the Crowne; and it is verily thought, that ſome perverse men of this profeſſion, have already deſigned it.

A Chineſe of good credit did affirme to me, that there were throughout China many thouſands of them; and that they had a Captaine or King, with all his officers belonging to him: whom, ſuch of their *Setts*, as live far off, do reverence in their letters, with all reſpect due to ſuch a Perſon;

and those that are at hand, when they have a convenience to assemble themselves, do honour him with services, courtesies and splendour, suitable to that of royall Majestie: and that all of them knew one another.

In the yeare 1622. in the Province of *Xantum*, which lieth betwenn that of *Nankim* and *Pekim*, there was discovered and taken one of these that was their Captaines. And because the *Mandarines* were resolved, not only to punish him, but all those that followed his *Sett* likewise; they questioned him concerning his companions; and not being able to draw a confession from him, they gave him severall times the rack. Which being understanded by thole, of the same *Sett*, whether it were for love they bare him, or for fear, that he might be constrained to confess and discover them, they all resolved to arm themselves, and fall upon the *Mandarines*, and by force of armes to deliver their companion: which accordingly they put in execution, with so much suddennesse, that it was impossible for the others to resist or escape them. They slew many of the *Mandarines*, and the rest were so affrighted, that they delivered their companion.

Then having formed themselves into a Body, they began to conquer the *Province*: At the beginning their number was not considerable, but in a shourt time there were so many, who joyned themselves to them, part of their own faction, and part of other vagabonds, that already they came to be many thousands, and so going on, without finding any resistance, they made themselves Masters of the small villages, and at length tooke two walled Towns, where they fortified themselves, issuing out from thence, to assault their enemies.

This newes gave no little trouble to the Court, the rebels being very neare them. But at length by the diligence they used, all was remedied, by reasoun, that numerous forces were sent out against them from *Pekim*: and although at the beginning, there fell out many batailles with various successe, both on the one and other side, yet at the length they of *Pekim* were Conquerours, and the rebels army defeated, and their Captain taken, who called himselfe King, and kept this Title with so much obstinacie, that being lodged at the houfe of a Person of quality, before he came to the Court, he did him no Reverence at all; and being bid to bow and do him Reverence, he answered with much disdain, the King deth Reverence to no man. Being come to Court, he was condemned to die, and was accordingly beheaded; and this was the Crown which he deserved. After that, the King quieted the rest by pardoning the greatest part of the rebels.

CHAP.

CHAP. 19.

*Of their Superstitions and Sacrifices
in China.*

Superstition is an Individuall companion of *Paganisme*, but in *China*, *Giappone*, and *Corea*, and the neighbouring Kingdomes, it is in great excesse. The Kings *Mathematician* giveth no small occasion to these superstitions, for from the impressions of the aire, the colours of the Skie, tempests, unseasonable thunders, aspects of the Sunne, whereof they have two and twenty differences, and severall appearances of the Moon, whereof they have sixteen, he alwayes maketh his *Prognostications*, especially whether there wil be peace in the Kingdome, or dearth, mortalitie, mutations, perturbations, and the like.

To this end he maketh an *Almanack* for the whole yeare, which he divideth into its Moones, and the Moones into daies, which according to his calculation, he declareth fortunate or unfortunate, to do or leave undone any thing; as to take a voyage, to go out of doores, to make mariage, to bury the dead, to build, and other such like affaires: whence the *Chineſſes* in all their busynesse, do so obſerve these *Rubriques*, that merrily, not to go againſt these rules, they haſten, defer, or let alone whatſoever they haue to do. So that if the *Almanack* ſay, on ſuch a day, ſuch a busynesse is to be done, althoſh all the Elements conſpire againſt them, they will by no meaneſ deferre it.

Besides this *Almanack*, whereof there are ſo many copies given out, that there is not an houfe, which hath not one of them, the market-places and ſtreets are full of *Astrologers* and *Sooth-sayers*, who keep open Shop with their Tables for *Calculation*, in order only to tell ſuch their fortunes, as come to them to require it: and althoſh for the moft part, they that come to them, are deceipted and coozened, yet there are ſo many that flock to them, that althoſh the number of these *Diviners*, is almoſt infinite, they live and ſustaine their Families by this *Art*.

Some professe to *Divine* by way of numbers, even or odd; and with black and white figures, making ſixty four mutations, or changes of them; which they expaline and interpretē as they pleafe.

Others conſider the time of the *Nativitie*, which the *Chineſſes* are verely diligent in keeping account of, that they may know the houre, the minute, and conjunction in which their children were born.

Others, whom they call *Tili*, pretend to *Divine* by meaneſ of the ſciuation of the earth, and from the correspondence it hath with heaven, and with the parts thereof; pronouncing what places are *prosperous*, and what *unfortunate*, and where, if they build their houfes, all will ſucceed proſperouſly, and with good fortune to the Family; or contrariwise, with ſickneſſe, misfortunes, disgraces and other evils: and in this facultie they have many ſkilfull professors, on whom they ſpend a great deale of

of mony without any profit at all.

Others Divine by the *Physiognomy* of the face ; others by considering the lines and strokes of the hand ; others interpret dreams.

Whilst I dwelt in *Nankin*, there was a man, who went to consult one of these about a dreame he had, which was concerning an *Umbrella*, or skreen to keep off the Sunne : the professour asked him, if there were any plea or enditement against him, in any Court of Justice : he answered, There was: Well said the professour, then *San* signifieth an *Umbrella*, and *San* also signifieth to vanish ; and the interpretation of your dreame is, that all that is against you will vanish and come to nothing. The poore man was very well pleased, but being afterwards arraigned, he received thirty *Bafinad* as well set on. The wretch being angrie at his punishment, whereof he thought himselfe secure, went to quarrel with the professour, who answered him, Alas, I had forgot to ask thee, Whether the *Umbrella*, which thou sawest, were a new one, or an old one : it was a new one, answered the foole. Then said the professour, Make account, that thy forrows do but now begin.

Others divine only by the Touch, and these are blind men. In the year 1630. there came to the *Metropolis* of *Kiamſi*, a blind man, well in years : he opened shop, and was frequented by many of the *Nobility*: he foretold many things, with much confidence, and a certain Gentleman of the same City, that was of one of the fourte principall families of that place, came to me to tell me what had passed ; he knew me, and understood well enough, what my opinion was in that matter. He told me many particular cales of things already happened ; by which he was confirmed of the event, of what the other said, shold yet come to passe ; and prayed me, that I would go in person, and make triall of him. I went only to undeceive him : and coming to him, he touched my hand, and bid me speak : when I had spoke, he began to tell, that I was married, and that I had two sonnes, that one of them was towwardly, the other wilde and disobedient ; that my wife was froward and discontented ; in fine, that my whole family was in disorder : but that when I had taken my degree, all would be well. He is already a *Graduate*, answered my friend. Where, replied the blind man? In another Province, answered the other. At which the blind man withdrew, seeing, although without eyes, that he had erred in that particular of my degree.

Besides these, whom they consult, they have in their Temples, severall kindes of lots ; and a booke that explaineth them : They do very frequently draw these lots, and they as frequently deceive them.

They observe likewise, and make *Auguryes* from the *singing* of *Birds*, & from the *Howling* of *Beasts* : & if at their going out in the morning, they presently meet with a man cloathed in *Mourning*, a *bonzi*, or such like thing, they take it for an ill *Augurie*. They say also, that they have familiar spirits, which they frequently consult: But of this I have not had any knowledge.

Anciently, in time of the *Tartars*, there were many very skilfull in this Art, and if we may beleewe, what *Marcus Venetus* relateth, they did many wonders : But at this day there is nothing certainly knowne of this matter. Yet there is still a family, that have a particular pension from the King,

King, which is continued, by succession to their posterite ; and the name of *Magitian* or *Wizard Major*, and is the chiefe of that Sect, and is sometimes sent for to the King. I for my part believe, the devill hath more power over them, than they have over the devill.

As for sacrifices they are very frequent in *China*, as well great as small ones : and every one provideth for them what he will, or rather what he can, according to his estate and abilitie. They sacrifice foure times a year, to *Heaven*, the *Sunne*, *Moone*, and greater part of the *Planets* and *Starres*; to the *Earth*, *Mountaines*, and the *fourte parts of the World* ; to the *Sea*, *Rivers*, *Lakes*, and other things. But it seemeth that in realitie they sacrifice to the *Spirits* of thole things, when in common speech, they say they sacrifice to the *Earth*, *Mountaines*, &c. Which may be seen in many sacrifices they make ; as in the sacrifice of the house, kitchin, ships, standards and ensignes, when they go to war, and such like things ; in which sacrifices they speake only to the *Tutelar Spirits* of thole things.

They sacrifice much more to the *Idols*, and to famous men deceased ; to whom, when they know them to be such, they cause Temples to be built, and place in them their Images, for services they have done, or other benefits the Kingdome hath received by them.

It seemeth, that at the beginning it was, and still is meant, only for a kinde of gratefull commemoration of them ; and that properly they do not sacrifice to them, but only bring offerings to them, and perform other Ceremonies. But the ignorant people in time, are come to worship them as Saints, and make prayers to them, and other such like honours.

They make likewise these kinde of offerings to their *Ancestours* ; whose pictures and Images, (or at least their names written) they have alwaies present at these offerings and Ceremonies. They only make mention of six, that is, the *first founder* of their familie ; *their third and fourth Grand-father*, *their great Grand-father*, *Grand-father* and *Father* : And when he that is the chiefe of the familie dyeth, they take him in, and leave out the fourth Grand-father : So that there alwaies remaine six and no more. These offerings and ceremonies are not properly sacrifices made to their *Fathers*, for they do not believe that their *Fathers* and *Ancestours* are all, either Gods or Saints ; but only it is a demonstration of *Gratitude* and *Reverence* which they thinke is due to them, from whom they have received their being.

That which they sacrifice is, some kindes of *Beasts*, as *Goats*, *Hogges*, and *Oxen* : These are the most usual. Of *Fishes* the most ordinary are *Cocks* and *Hens*. Of *Fishes* what they please. They also sacrifice pieces of flesh, and most commonly the *Head* : They sacrifice also *Rice*, *Pulse*, and *Wine*. And if the King sacrifice any of these things, the *Mandarines* take themselves large shares of them ; and if the better sort of people sacrifice, such as are the heads of families, it is divided among the kindred. The ordinary sort of people, after they have made their offering, which is comonly boyled before hand, take up every thing againe, then having dressed it anew according to their *fancy*, they make a feast with it, where it is all eaten.

They sacrifice many other things ; as *Banners* and *Umbrellas*, all of silk ; severall

severall figures moulded in gold or silver, or else made of *orpine*, or base gold; great summes of mony made of cut paper. All these things are to be sold, ready made, in the market places, at the shops of severall Artificers; and after they are sacrificed, they burn them all.

Every man offereth sacrifice without any difference, they having no determinate ministers appointed for this act: neither indeed have they for other things; as for offices (or Divine service) Burials, to sing and officiate at them with any exactnesse.

It belongeth only to the king to sacrifice to *Heaven*, the *Earth*, *Sunne*, *Moon*, *Planets* and *Starres*, and if any others shuld do it in publick, he were guilty of a great crime. For this end they have two most famous *Temples* at the two *Courts*: where the King sacrificeth at the *fourre seasons* of the year, *Spring*, *Summer*, *Autumne* and *Winter*, going thither himselfe in person; and if he cannot go, he sendeth some other to officiate in his stead.

The great *Lords* and those who are *Titelados*, sacrifice to the *Mountaines*, *Lakes*, &c. The Gentlemen and Officers to the four *seasons* of the year, and particular parts of the earth, *Hills*, and the like.

For the rest, as to their *Idols*, their houehold-gods, *Genij*, or *Tutelar Angels*, any one sacrificeth that will, there being set times and places appointed for it: except at sometimes they do accomodate themselves, both to the occasions and places; as when any one is to take a voyage by water, he offereth sacrifice on the day, whereon he departeth; and that either in the *Banke*, or on the *next boare*.

C H A P. 20.

Of the Militia and Armes of the Chineses.

THE knowledge and skill of *Warre* and *Militarie* affaers is very ancient among the *Chineses*, as appeareth by their bookees and Histories; and it is very certaine, that they have conquered many famous Kingdomes: it is also commonly beleaved, that they did formerly conquer *Ceilan*; and neare to that place, in the City of *Nagapatam* there is to be seen, at this day, an edifice, or building, which they call *The Pagod of the Chineses*: and it is a Tradition among the people of that Countrie, that it was built by them. Neither truly is it a worke unfit to be compared to any of that Kingdome. Nevertheless their bookees make no mention at all of it; but that is not a sufficient reason altogether to refute this Tradition; for no more have they any memory left in their bookees of the ancient Christianitie, which notwithstanding it is most certaine, was there; and was also very much dilated and spread abroad. However it is manifest, that they had 114. Kingdomes Tributary to them; but at this day they have only the neighbouring Countries, which are nothing neare so many; and even of these, some of them do deny them their tribute; and others have

have been abandoned by the *Chineses* themselves, holding it better to retaine themselves to their own, in peace and quietnesse, than to go on stil with warre and troubles, to conquer or maintaine other Kingdomes.

Beside the *Conquests* and *warres* made with stranger Kingdomes, they have had warre also for many yeares in their own Countie, so that beside many particuler books that treat thereof, they have one body of historie consisting of ten Tomes, which only treateth of the *warres* of those times, of their *Captaines*, their manner of *warfare*, *batailes*, *victories*, and other things: wherein are many notable things to be read, which do clearly demonstre, that they have formerly been a *valiant* and *warlike* nation, altho there are but few such at this time. The occasions how they came thus to grow lesse, were very great, as I shall shew hereafter.

At this day, that which they have of *warlike* in the Kingdome, is only the *multitude*, whch is very great; for besides the *Souldiery*, which they have in the frontiers of *Tartarie*, and in the *Armados* and fleets, which are at the mouths of the great rivers, which runne into the *Sea*, every Province, and in that every City and Village of the Kingdome, hath a proper *militia* of their own, which is paid by them, and commanded by their own *Captaines*: and in case that any Province hath need of men, they make use of the *Souldierie* of their owne Cities and Townes, which by order of the *vice-roy* is easily brought to one *Rendezous*. And if there be occasion for them on the frontiers, or any other place of the Kingdome, presently by order from the King, or his counsell of *warre*, they rayle the *Souldiers* of one or more Provinces, according to the Present necessite, and the possibilitie of the Province, all of them not being able to mainaine the same number of *Souldiers*.

These *Souldiers* are alwayes in readinesse, and if one of them be wanting or die, there are presently know in the same Town, though it be never so little, who make suite for the employment; and so the place is presently supplied.

In the City of *Nankin* they say, there are 40000 *Souldiers*, and in that of *Pekin* 80000, and throughout the whole Kingdome (as Father *Matheus Riccius* affirmeth, who lived in *China* many years, and had very good Knowledge thereof) above a million: and Father *John Rodriguez*, who went very much up and down *China*, and had opportunity to see the principall places thereof, and was very curious, faith, that he found by diligent search in their books, that in the body of the Kingdome, with all the Cities and Villages thereof, there are 594000 *Souldiers*; and on the great wals, which confine on *Tartarie* 682888, and yet he did not put into this number the *Souldiers* of the *Armado* that guardeth the coast. Nor wil this number seem so excessive, if we consider, that *China* alone, beside that it is much more populous, is as big as *Spain*, *France*, *Italie*, *Germanie*, the *Low Countries*, *great Brittain*, and all the *Islands* belonging to it.

In all this multitude, if we speak of them, who guard the *frontiers*, there is no doubt but there is found some valour and courage; and they have sometimes gallantly repulsed the *Tartars*, and in the yeare 1596, when the *Gipponeys*, after they had passed through all the Kingdome of *Corea*, without finding any resistance, would have entred *China*, which they

came on purpose to conquer; the *Chineſſes* repulſed them in ſuch manner, that after the loſe of many men, they were faſe to put up their pipes, and return home without doing any thing: fo likewife the *Souldiers* of the *Armado* have made ſome aſſaults, wherein they have been *victorios*. But if we ſpeake of them, who live in the Cities and Villages throughout the Kingdome, they are but of ſmall courage and valour: but you muſt not conceive, that they are only *Souldiers*, and haue no other profeſſion, for they are Inhabitants and natives of the ſame places, and are *Taylors*, *Shoemakers* &c. They are alwaies ready to march at the Kings command, and leaving their houſes, go to the warre, whenſoever there is occaſion, They are moreover obliged, to appear at the muſters and traynings for three months in the *Spring*, and three in the *Autumne*, the which are held in the great Cities every day infallibly, where only a *Tertia* or third part of them do muſter, but in Villages they do all make their appearance every day.

The manner which they hold in this *Militia*, is thus. All the *Souldiers*, whether of Foot or Horse, are drawn up into a Body, and if any be found miſſing, there is an other put in his place, and in that place and degree, into which they are once admitted, they *almost ever* remaine, or are but little advanced, I laid, *almost always*, becauſe on the Frontiers, if any *Souldier* perform any notable exploit, they ſometimes make him a *Captain*, and he is advanced to his degrees without being examined: but this is a thing which falleth out very rarely.

For to make *Captaines*, *Lientenants*, and *Corporals*, &c. there are examinations; and in them two degrees are conferred, which (to make them be the better underſtood) we will call *Lientenants in arms*, and *Doctours in arms*. The firſt examination is held in the chief Cities of the Provinces, whither all pretenders do reſort, (and in the ſame vniuersity or generall Palace, where the ſtudents are examined;) and there they are to be examined, giving them for a point, or *Theme*, certayne doubts in matters of war, to which they anſwer with their pen, making thereon diſcourses and compositions. The ſpeculative triall being ended, they come to the practick.

They muſhooſe nine arrowes, ſtanding ſtill upon their feet, and other nine on horſe-back, againſt a great Target, whilſt the horſe is in his ſpeed; and of thoſe who behaue themſelves beſt, both in the triall of ſhootting, and in that of compoſing, ſome are choſen, on whom the firſt degree is conferred, which hath alſo its enſignes and ornaments. The ſecond degree is conferred at Court in the ſame year, where all thoſe who haue obtained the firſt degree, do assemble themſelves; and the examination is held in the ſame manner as before, only there are more doubts concerning matters of warre propoſed, than before. Their enſignes are the fame with thoſe of the *Doctours in learning*, which is to be underſtood in the Cities, while the Kingdom is in peace; for in warre, or publique actions, where they affiſt as *Souldiers*, they haue their particular enſignes and ornaments of *Captaines*. The gradiates are employed the ſame year, in the office of *Captaines*; and ſo are advanced by degrees, til they come, it may be, to be *Captaines General*, althoſh there be no war. They who remaine only with the firſt degree, are employed in the leſſer, and more ordinary charges

charges of the warr; but they are alwayes to be in ſomthing of command.

As for their *Armes*, I ſay firſt, that the uſe of *Powder* is very ancient in *China*: and in fire-works, wherein they are excellently ſkilfull, they ſpend more powder in a year, than in their *Armes*, at this time, in five. Anciently it ſeemeth, they uſed it more in the warr. For even to this day, there are to be ſeen on the gates of the City of *Nankim*, on both ſides of the town, great Braſe *Bombards*, or *Cannon*, which though they be but ſhort yet are very well made; from whence it may be concluded, that they haue formerly been in uſe. But now they know not how to make uſe of them, and keep them only for oſtentation. Nevertheless they make ſome uſe of *Morter pieces*, or *Spingards*; but they haue but few, and thoſe ill-made. They haue also *Dagges* two palms long, of Muſket-bore, they do ſtrock three, and ſometimes fourer of theſe together, and ſhoot them off all at once. In their ſhips of warr, they carry *Guns*, but they are very ſmall ones, neither do they know, how to leuell them at a mark. But now, ſince the *Officers* of *China* haue made many fire-armes in *Macao*, by meaſes of the *Portugueſe*, *Muskets* began to come into *China*: but the *Armes* which they commonly ſerve with, are *Bowes* and *Arrowes*, *Lances*, *Scimitars*.

In the year 1621 the City of *Macao* ſent, for a preſent, to the King [three great pieces of *Cannon*, with their *Cannoneers* belonging to them, to acquaint him with the uſe of them; which accordingly they did in *Pekim*, to the greaſt affrightment of many *Mandarines*: who would needs be preſent to fee them diſcharged. At which time, there fell out an unhappy accident, which was, that one of the *Guns* violently recouyling killed one *Portugueſe*, and three or fourer *Chineſſes*, beſides many more that were ſcarred. Theſe *Guns* were highlie eſteemed, and carried to the *Frontiers* againſt the *Tartars*; who not knowing of this new invention, and coming on, many together in a cloſe Body, received ſuſh a slaughter from an *Iron piece*, that they were not only put to flight at that time, but went on ever after with more caution.

For deſenſive *Armes*, they uſe round *Bucklers*, *Caskets* or *Head-pieces*, and certain plates of *Iron* three fingers broad, laid one upon another, of which they make *Back* and *Breſt-pieces*; they are but of little proof, and are made only againſt arrowes.

In a word both their *Armes* and *Souldiers* are but little worth at this time. The occaſions thereof are many; the *First* is the great eaſe and idleneſſe, in which they haue liued theſe many yeare, ſince the Kingdome hath been free from war. The *Second* is, the great account they make of learning, and the little eſteem they haue of *Armes*; fo that the leaſt magistrate will daile to baffle a *Captaine of Armes*, let him be never ſo great. The *Third* is their manner of elecſing *Captaines* by way of examination, as we haue ſaid, being all raw *Souldiers*, that understand nothing in matters of war. The *Fourth* is, becauſe all *Souldiers*, are either couraſious by nature, or Spurred on to *Gallantrie* by the example of thoſe *Noble* Perſons, who lead them; or elſe they are animated by the discipline, their *Captaines* do bring them up in. But the *Souldiers* of *China* want all theſe occaſions. For commonly their courage is but little; their *Nobilitie* leſſe; their *Education* leaſt of all; for they will *bastinado* a *Souldier* for any fault, as if he were a child

child that went to schoole. The *fifth*, because in their *Armies*, over all the *Captaines*, and also the *Generall* himselfe, there goeth a *Generalissimo*, who is alwaies a man of the long robe. This man marcheth alwaies in the middle of the maine *Battalia*, and from the place of *Battaile* is many times a daies journey off; so that he is too remote to give orders, and to runne away, in any case of danger, he is most ready. The *sixth* is, that in their *Councils of warre* (of which they have two; one in the Court of *Nankin*; and the other in that of *Pekim*;) and each hath a *President*, two *Collaterals*, and eight or nine *Colleagues*) there is not one *Souldier*, or *Captaine* among them, or any that hath ever seen the *warres*; and yet for all that, the whole *Militia* of the Kingdome is ordered by them, especially by the *Council* of *Pekim*.

Only there might be answered to what hath been said, that the *Chineſſes* do use training, and exercises of *warre*, for three months in the *Spring*, and three in the *Autumne* every year: which cannot be done without some profit, exercising themselves in shooting arrowes at a marke, and shooting also very well. But in truth this exercise of theirs is the most ridiculous thing in the world: For dividing their men into squadrons, part feign themselves to be enemies, and part *Chineſſes*, (as among us in *Portugall*, the boyes divide themselves into *Mores* and *Christians*) one part cometh, as it were, a farre off to warre with the other; then they send out spies, and send away messengers to the *Mandarines* (who are sitting not farre under a *Canopie*, or *Pavilion* of silke) giving them notice, that they are in such a place, and the enemy in such a place; then the *Chineſſes* send out a partie against them, who encoutring knock their *Swords* and *Lances* one against the others, just as plaiers do upon a stage; and this, or very little more is all they do.

CHAP. 21.

Of the warre which the Tartars made upon China.

VHEN *Humun* the first founder of the royall family that governeth at present, drove the *Tartar* out of the Kingdome, who had kept all *China* under his subjection ninetie years, he not only re-gained his own Kingdome, but entred likewise into those of the others and conquered those Kingdomes, that lay neerest him towards the *North*, obliging them to pay him tribute: neither did he let them remaine in the manner of Kingdomes, but the same *Humun* divided them into 160. families or States; giving them diverse dignities and offices. These States grew so great, that they divided themselves into three Kingdomes; one towards the *West*; another toward the *North*, and the third toward the *East*. The two first presently with-drew themselves from their obedience to the *Chineſſes*; only he of the *East* remaining their friend, treating with them, and performing his obligations.

This continued for many years; till the *Chineſſes* seeing that *Easternne Kingdome*

Kingdome to encrease much, whether it were for reason of state, or for some other particular respect, they resolved to fall upon it, and to bring them under, so that the *Tartars* forced by desperation, resolved at once to invade upon them; this is the usual effect of *Extortion* and *Tyranny*, and where the Prince would have more from the people, than they are able to give. Whence *Theopompos* King of the *Lacedemonians*, when his wife told him, that because he had eas'd his people of many taxes, he would leave his soone a poorer Kingdome, than he had received from his Father, answere, *Relinquo, sed diuinarius*. That is, I shall, leave him a more lasting Kingdome. The *Tartars* therefore secretly levied Souldiers, and on a sudden fell upon a fort in the Province of *Leotum*, and tooke it; making afterwards many in-roads to their profit, and to the great damage of the *Chineſſes*.

The *Tartars* of the *West* and of the *North*, whether it were out of love to their Country, or out of intrest, which is more probable, raised also an Army, and came in to the Succour of their *Easternne* Countrimen; and by little and little grew so numerous, that in the yeare 1618 two very great *Armies*, one *Chineſſe*, and the other *Tartar*, came to a field-battaile; in which the *Chineſſes* were vanquished and put to flight, with a very great losſ of men. And that it might the better be understood, how the state of things were then, I will set down here a memorial or petition, which the *President* of the *Council* of *warre* gave the King concerning this businesse; which I translated at that time, and sent it into *Europe* for news, and now I have found it here printed, and it saith thus.

A memorial, or petition, presented by the president
of the Council of Warre to the King.

IN this six and fourtieth year of your Reign, in the sixth Moone, (which was the yeare 1618 in the month of August) the President of the Council of Warre presented you with this Memoriall, as to our Lord and King, upon occasion that the *Tartars* are entred within the walls toward the *North*, in which he humbly petitioneth you, that you would attend this busynesse, and presently open your Treasures, and assist this Warre with men and ammunition. For the truth is, that in this month I have received intelligence from the *Captaines*, that reside in the Province of the walls toward the *North*; wherein they give me notice, that in all parts of that Province there were proclamations published, wherein they did declare, that the *Tartars* were gathered together to Conquer this world of *China*; and gave me intelligence of the day appointed for the Battaile, the which accordingly was fought at that time, with a great strenght and multitude of people: and entring within the walls, they have taken some of our men, to sacrifice them: and the day before the battaile they did sacrifice them with great acclamations to their King, and have already proclaimed him King of *Pekim*. They bring with them many hundred thousands of Souldiers, and each beareth above him severall sorts of Armes. Our men, who met to encounter and oppresse them, were two *Captaines-Generall*, ninety six ordinary *Captaines*, and 30000 men at armes. They Jayned battaile, and in the first encounter they killed thirty eight of our *Captaines*, amongst whom was one of our Generals: the others are slaine without number; they took also some thousands of

of prisoners ; and in the retreat, by reason of the confusion and disorder, there were killed by them above a thousand of our men. The people of the Cities are fled, as also those of the other Townes. Whereupon, the same day they made themselves masters of three Cities. Upon the receipt of this newes we assembled the Councell, the Colao, and other Mandarines of this Court, that in so weighty a busynesse we might finde some good expedient : And in truth it seemeth to us, that heaven doth favour the enemy, who otherwise could not have been able to have made such a slaughter of our people in one day, and to have taken three Cities : And so it seemeth heaven is angry with us. As also the Prodigies, which we have lately all seen, do demonstrate no lesse. In the Province of Pekim the last yeare it raigned not at all ; and the people went about like men halfe dead : and in the Province of Xankim, there was so great a dearth and famine, that the people did eat one another : and into Nankin came an infinite multitude of Mice ; neither was it discovered, whence that plague came. In the roiall palaces, of five parts the fire burnt downe two, and the wind overthrew five Towers of this City : we saw two Sunnes together, and the one did Eclipse the other. These are all things of evill Prognostication : but above all, we saw a man enter into the roiall Palaces with resolution to kill the Prince ; which he had done, had he not been hindred. This fell out when the King would have constituted his second sonne heire of the Kingdome ; who was growne very powerfull by the favour and art of the Eunuches ; and, at that time, there came in a man to have killed the eldest sonne ; but he was hindred by his feare, and the women, who helped the Prince.) And the worst is, that, a Mandarine having spoken something high, shewing therein his fidelite to you, our Lord, but for his Loyaltie you made him a Traitor, and commanded he shoulde be put in prison, and although we made great means to free him, by declaring his innocency, yet you never gave care unto us. (This imprisonment was, when the King shewed his eldest sonne to the Mandarines in the roiall hall, whom they would have had declared heire of the Kingdome, & the King would not : and one of them tooke the boldnesse to speake, and to plead for the true Prince, and was therefore committed prisoner by the King.)

Many times the Mandarines presented Memorials ; wherein they did relate the miserable condition of the people, desiring that their Taxes might be lessened, a thing worthy of much consideration, but neither did you make any account thereof. We the Mandarines of this court have severall times petitioned, that you would come out, and give Audience in publick, as your Predecessours heretofore have done ; that the government might be conformable to that of heaven, as it is most fitting : you answered us sometimes, that you were not well ; other times, that the weather was cold and rough, and that we shoulde meet another day : we expected till Spring time, then till the beginning of Summer ; but you would performe what you had promised ; but you not only gave no answer to the second Memorial, but you commanded it to be burnt : and in this manner you live retired in the Palace, without making any account of what importeth you most. For this reason are the calamities so great ; and we persecuted with wares. Peace is wanting ; and, as it seemeth, it will be wanting ; for we are come to see rivers of blood running downe : and above all, in the third moone last past, there came some from the Province of Xensi, to tell us, that there had appeared there a man clothed in yellow, with a green cap on his head, and in his hand a fan of feathers, who spake

speake thus, Vanli (that is the name of the King) doth not govern, though he hath reigned long : he sleepeth alwaies : the Kingdome is ready to be lost, the people will die of hunger : the Captaines will be slaine and pierced through with lances : and when he had said this, he vanished. The Mandarines were amazed. The Vice-roy used great diligence to know who this man was : but could not possibly finde him out, seeing therefore the calamites, famine, warre, and other evils, which the Kingdome now suffereth, we plainly perceive, that it was a prognostication of these things. Wherefore we are againe returned to require you, speedily to open your treasures of mony, that fresh leavies of men may be made, and some remedie put to so great evills.

This is the Memorial, which was presented in the year 1618 since when, the Tartars have continued every summer (or in the winter, by reason of the great cold, nothing can be done) to make considerable inroads ; where-in they are commonly gainers, to the great losse of the Chineſes. So that the year 1622, two principall Mandarines of the fort of Quamis, where, as being the chiefe fortresse of that Province, the Vice-roy, maketh his residence, (whether it were, that they were discontented, or had hopes to better their condition by it) made a secret agreement with the Tartars to deliver the fortresse into their hands ; which accordingly they did ; for the Tartars falling upon that side, which was assigned them, assoone as ever they began the assault, they easilly tooke it, by the Treason, which the others had plotted, and put to flight all them, who knew nothing of the treacherie ; who, together with the Vice-roy, escaped to Xambai, the last fortresse (as it were) of that Province, and the first of the Province of Pekim ; the key and strength of the whole Kingdome.

Assoone as the newes of this last route came to Court, both the King and his Grandees were in great disorder, and deliberated to change his abode, and to remove to the Court of Nankin, as farthest off from danger, and it had accordingly been put in execution, if a principall Mandarine (for there is always found some one or other, who taketh care of the publick good) had not presented a Memorial to the King, wherein he demonstrated to him, that this alteration would be the beset and readiest way to destroy the whole Kingdome, or the greater part at least, by dispoyleing of all strength, the Court and Province of Pekim, that was so neare the other Province, which was now ready to be lost.

This Memorial took effect ; and by it the the designe of flying, and seeking a new habitation, was broken off ; it being formerly refolved, that Nankin should be fortifyed. There was therefore a proclamation sent out, under great penalties, did prohibite any to go out of the Court, not only Mandarines and people of qualite, but even the common people also. Vpon this the people began to bee quieted, especially seeing, that the Citie was strengthened with new Garisons, Guards, Watches, and a rigorous strictnesse at the gate. The chiefe care was to fortifie the passe at Xam Hai Quan, which, as I said above, is on the very frontie of the Province of Leatoum, which was already lost, and on the entrance of the Province of Pekim, and by reason the place, streightened on both sides with very high mountaines, is impregnable : they sent thither great store of Ammunition, and fresh Soldiers in so great number, that it was reported

ted that at that post only they had 80000 men of Warre. The King also sent new *Captaines* with ample power, which would have been of greater effect, if he could have given it them over the *Tartars*, to conduct them that way: who seeing it was not possible to make their entrance at that place, both because it was so easie to defend, as also that it was well fortifiid with men, began to wheel off to the *East* side thereof, through part of *Corea*, giving off their designe of going toward *Pekim*, which if they had done with so powerfull and victorious an Army, they had put that Court into a greater feare and danger, than ever yet they had experience of. The *Chineſſes* met them not far from the Court, where there began so furious a *Bataile*, that many men lost their lives both of the one and the other side, yet at the last the *Chineſſes* had the victorie: so great endeavour will men ſe to defend their own home.

A little while after this fight arrived at the Court of *Pekim* a *Portugheſſe* named *Gonſalvo Texera*, who was ſent thither with an *Embaſſie* and a Preſent from the City of *Macao*, who ſeeing the infolency of the *Tartars*, and the fear of the *Chineſſes*, and judging that by it they might do ſervice to the Crown of *Portugall*, and a kindneſſe to themſelves, in what the King of *China* might do for them, offered to the *Mandarines*, in the name of the City of *Macao*, ſome *Portugheſſes* to affit them againſt the *Tartars*. The profer was kindly accepted of, and a *Memoriall* was preſented to the King, who preſently returned a favourable anſwer. The *Councill of Warre* diſpatched a Father of our company to *Macao*, (who was already gone along with the *Embaſſadours* to negotiate this affiſtance) with ſeverall orders to the officers of *Cantone*, to expedite the buſineſſe as much as they could, with all liberallitie, and proviſion, and convenience for the men that were deſired of them.

Four hundred men were put in order, that is 200 Souldiers, of which many were *Portugheſſes*, ſome whereof were borne in *Portugall*, and ſome there: but the moſt of them were people of that Countrie, who althoſh they were *Chineſſes*, borne in *Macao*, yet were bred up among the *Portugheſſes* after their manner, and were good Souldiers, and ſhot well in *Guns*. To each Souldier was given a youth to ſerve him, who was bought with the Kings money, and ſo large pay for themſelves, that with it the Souldiers cloathed themſelves iſchily, and provided themſelves with armes, and were after all that left very rich too.

These Souldiers ſet out from *Macao* with two *Captaines*, one whereof was named *Pietro Corderio*, the other *Antonio Rodriguez del capo*, with their *Alfereſſes* and other *Officers*. When they were come to *Cantone*, they muſtered themſelves with ſo much gallantrie, and with ſuch ſalutes of their *Musquarie*, that the *Chineſſes* were aſtoniſhed.

There they were furnished with boates to paſſe up the river, with all convenience, through the whole Province, being preſented by the Magiſtrates, when they came to any of their Cities and Villages, ſending reſtrefment for them all, of *Hens*, *Beef*, *Fruit*, *Wine*, *Rice*, &c.

They paſſed over the Mountaines which divide the Province of *Cantone* from that of *Kiamſe* (and is leſſe than a daies journey from the other River) all on horse-back, even to the meanſt of their ſervants. Preſently

fenty, upon the other ſide of the Mountaine, they were imbarqued againē, and going down the River, they croſſed after the ſame manner almoſt all the Province of *Kiamſe*, till they came to the *Metropolis* thereof, where I lived at that time, and had under my direſtion a good number of Christians, there they ſtayed only to ſee the City, and to be wel looked on by them. They were invited by many of the noble men, that they might looke upon the Fahion of their habit, and other things which ſeemed ſtrange to them; they treated them with all manner of Courteſie, and commanded and admired all, except the Slashing and pinking of their cloathes, not being able to conceive, why, when a piece of ſtuffe is whole and new men ſhould cut it in ſeveral places for ornament. But, when they had ſeen this City, theſe men returned, without any other effect, but the expeſne and great loſſe of the *Chineſſes*, occaſioned by the *Tartars* in ſeveral encounters, becauſe they were deprived of this ſuccour.

The occaſion of their returne was, that the *Chineſſes*, who traffique in *Cantone* with the *Portugheſſes*, and are their Correspondents for their buſineſſe, from which they draw a vaſt profit, began to perceive that by this entrance and the good ſucceſſe thereof, of which they made no doubt at all, it would be an eaſie thing for the *Portugheſſes* to obtaine licence to enter into the Kingdome, and to do their buſineſſe, and ſell their Merchandise themſelves, and by this meaneſ they ſhould come to loſe their gaіnes: therefore, before the *Portugheſſes* ſet out, they uſed all their endeavour to hinder their going, preſenting many papers againſt it, and at laſt, the Magiſtrate anſwering, that he could do no leſſe, having already parted with the money, and diſtributed among the *Souldiers*, not only ordinarie, but very high and advantagious pay, they offered, at their owne charges, to re-imburſe the whole money to the King. But ſeeing that this way neither they could obtaine their ends, it is reported, that they ſent to Court that money, which they would have given, and preſenting it to the *Mandarines*, prevailed ſo, that thoſe very men, who had proposed the *Portugheſſes* to the King, as an important ſuccour, did againe preſent a memoriall, wherein they expreſſed, that there was now no need of them; The King anſwered, (and I my ſelfe ſaw the Royal anſwer,) It is not long ſince that ye did propoſe to us, that theſe men ſhould enter into the Kingdome, and affiſt us againſt the *Tartars*: now ye ſay, they are not neceſſarie. When ye propoſe any thing, it were good you conſidered of it better, howbeit, if they are not neceſſarie, let them returne.

In this manner did that expedition of the *Portugheſſes* come to an end, without any profit at all to the Kingdome, but much to the *Souldiers*, beſides that they had an opportunity to ſee a good part of *China*. The *Tartars* have ever ſince continued the warre after the ſame manner, and do continue it to this day, and have forced the Kingdome of *Corea* to pay them tribute, as they payed to *China*, although they ſtil pay to the *Chineſſes* as much as they did formerly.

C H A P. 22.

Of the King and Queenes of China, and of the Eunuches.

ALthough the *Chineſſes* have been ſo diligent in their *Chronicles & Records*, that they have preserved the memorie of above 3000 years to this time; nevertheless they have ſuffered a great losſe and damage in the knowledge of many things contained in them by the burning of thoſe books, which are called by them *The History*, and in reality, the buſineſſe was thus.

A King named *Tien*, (whither it were as ſome think out of the hatred he bore to learning, or as ſome hold with more probabilitie, that he might extinguiſh the memory of his *Anceſtors*, and leave only his owne to posteritie) excepting only the books of *Piſick*, as only neceſſarie to the Common-Wealth, commanded by a rigorous law, that the rest of their books ſhould be burnt, with ſo much leviſtice as if every volume were guilty of high treason, and under ſo great penalties for any that hid them, that it was to coſt him no leſſe than his life, and in effect he cauſed fourtie *Litterati* to be burned together with their books which they had hid.

This perſecution laſted the ſpace of fourty yeare, at what time they began to renew their ancient *Chronicles*, by meaneſ of certaine books and fragmanteſ that had escaped, ſome of them being buried under ground, and others immured in the middle of walls, and after many yeareſ and a diligent ſearch, they ſet on foot againe the more principall matters; yet there were many things wanting, and especially concerning the firſt Kings and Princes of this *Kingdome*.

However it is certainly known, that their firſt Government was by way of *Families*; every one governing hiſ own, as anciently the *Patriarks* did. The ſecond was *Monarchical*, but it is not certaine how it began; neither have they any thing certaine concerning the originall of it. They do commit a notable error in the time of their *Chronologies*: for the Emperor *Tao*, from whose time they do begin to give credit to their Histories, even according to the moft favourable computation, from the creation of the world to *Noah*, they make to be twelve yeareſ before the flood; nevertheless, althoſe there be an error of the time in the Historie of this Emperor and thole that follow, it is certaine, that the matterſ related, are verily coherent with their ſuccellions.

Now this Emperor *Tao*, without having any regard to the natuall and lawful ſuccellion of hiſ ſonne, left the Empire to *Xun* hiſ Sonne-in-law, onely, because he diſcovered in him parts and qualities worthie of the Government. *Xun* like wife for the fame reſpect gave the Empire to *Ti*, who was no kin to him. Theſe three Emperours are muſt esteemed by the *Chineſſes* for hoſt men: concerning whom they relate many things. And truly there is no doubt, but that they were *Philofophers*, well inclined to moſt all vertues.

They

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The History of CHINA.

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They do attribute much merit to the laſt of theſe three, for the *Adjuſting of the waters* (as they call it:) which was done by him through the Kingdom, which in that time diſabound in lakes and moarish places, and therefore in many parts could not be tilled. This King going in perfon, and commanding large trenches to be made, (wherein many years were ſpent) he gaue vent to that multitude of waters, and by that meaneſ recovered a great deale of ground which was of great profit for tillage. There are ſome in Europe who believe that theſe waters were the reliques of the *flood*. The *Chineſſes*, although they make a large mention of theſe waters in their books, of the draining of them, and of the benefit which accrued thereby to the Kingdom, do not ſay any thing of any occation or originall of them.

After theſe three *Emperours* abovenamed, the *Empire* was ever continued by ſuccellion; but not in the fame *family*; for there were many Princes and Lords, who althoſe they were ſubject to the Emperor, yet, ſometymeſ for particular reſpects, and otherwhile under preſence of ciuill Government and *Tyranny*, made *warres*, *confederacieſ* and *disordereſ*, with which they either diſturbed and troubled the *Monarchy*, or diſvided it, or elſe uſurped it all to themſelvēs; So that although it laſted in ſome families many yeareſ, as in that of *Tham* for 400. years, and in ſome other families little leſſe, yet the *Monarchy* from the beginning, to this preſent day, hath been changed into two and twenty ſeverall *Families*.

The Lords of particular ſtates continued in *China* 2000 yeareſ, till in the year of our redempcion 1206, the *Tartars*, who then poſſeſſed another Country, began to make themſelvēs Masters of *China*; and advanced ſo farre by degrees, till at length they brought it all under their ſubjeſtion, reining there as abſolute, till the year 1368. At what time, *Hum Vu*, the founder of the family, which reiogneth at preſent, ſeeing the strength of the *Tartars* to be diſminifhed, and their *Tyranny* encreaſed, and the people ſo wearied therewith that they were well diſpoſed to ſhake off the yoke, and ſet themſelvēs at libertie; gathered together an army with ſuch good ſuccellie, that he not only diſcomfited the *Tartars*, and drove them out of the Kingdom, but entred also into their Country, and conqueſteſ a good part thereof.

The *Kingdome* being thus re-establiſh in its natuall estate, *Hum Vu* ſeeing himſelvē become abſolute *Lord* thereof, ſet on foot an admirble kinde of *Government*, diſſering in part from that of all other *Monarchies*; yet it is ſucha one, as hath now been conuered almoſt 300 yeareſ, with ſo much ſubjeſtion, communication and dependance from its head, that ſo great an *Empire*, ſeemeth to be but, as it were, one well governed conuent. This King in the firſt place conuerred many favours and graces upon all his ſubjeſts: Liberalitie being that, which doth moft demonstrate a royll minde: he created new officers, yet retained he ſome of the former ones, as we shall relate in its proper place.

To the chief and principall *Captaines* he affigned large revenues, to the ſecond a very competent maſteneance, and to thoſe of the third ſort, ſufficient. He tooke away all the *Princes* and *Lords* of vassals and ſubjeſts, without leaving one: he prohibited by a rigorous law, that none of the

Royall family, either in peace nor warre, nor in any case, migh: bearre office in the Common-wealthe, either civil, criminal, or military; neither might they be suffered to enter into the examinations, to receive their degree (the which last prohibition, as I have formerly said, hath been lately taken away in part.) He placed the whole Government in the *Litterati*, who are created such by way of concurrence, (as hath been declared, when I speake of the examinations) without any dependance at all on the Magistrates, or the King himselfe, but only by the merit of their learning, good parts, and vertues. He did not annull those ancient lawes, which concerned good Government, and hindred not his intent, which was only to perpetuate the Monarchy in his *Posturite*. But he made many new ones, and modelled the Common-wealthe and the Government into that form, wherein it standeth at present; although in so many years, and in so vast a Monarchie, it hath not been possible, but that it shoulde receive some alteration, though not in any essentiall part thereof.

The King is called by divers names. For the better understanding whereof, you must know that there are thirteen things remarkable at his Coronation. The first is the changing of the account of years, beginning their apparition a new from the entrance of the new Kings reigne; and this not only in their ordinary discourse, but in all letters, dispatches, proclamations, writings, &c. The second, that there is coyned new mony, with the letters of his name, altho: the former continueth current also. The third is, That he Crowneth his true wife, making her as it were, Emprefse. The fourth is, That he giveth the name of Queen to six Concubines. The fifth is, That there are great sacrifices made to Heaven, to the Earth, to the Spirits, &c. The sixth, That there are great store of Almes given to the poore. The seventh, That all prisoners are set at libertie, whose freedom is not prejudiciall to a third party. The eighth, That there are sumptuous banquets made for the Magistrates. Theninib, That all the women are to depart out of the Palace, that have been Concubines to the former King. The tenth, The Palaces, which are fourte in number, wherein the other women lived, are furnished againe with new women, pickt & chosen throughout the whole realme: in time of which search there are many marriages made, every one endeavouring to deliver his daughter from that subiectiōn. The eleventh, The Nobilitie of the blood royal do send deputies (not every one, but all those of one City) to render obedience to the King, and to acknowledge him for such: In like manner also do the *Titulados*, which cannot do it in their owne persons. The twelfth is, That all Officers, from Vice-roys to the meanest Judges of Townes, go in person to Court, to render the same obedience, on the behalfe of their Provinces, Cities, and Townes. Lastly the Kings name is changed, as is used among us at the election of the Pope; and this is that name, which is written in all publick acts, on moneyes, &c. It is a name of a particular, but royall person, as that of this Kings Grandfather was, *Yam Lie*; of his father, *Thui Chum*; of his Brother who reigned first, *Thien Khi*; and of this King, *Teum Chim*.

They have moreover three names, which signifie a King: The first is *Kina*, and by this they use to call forreigne Kings: The second is *Vam*, and to by this name they call the Infantes, or Kings children; joyning them together

gather *Kiun Vam*, they make a name, by which their King may be called. But the principall name is *Ho Am Ti*, that is, Emperor.

In the Palace, the Women, Eunuchs, and other domesticks thereof call him *Chu*, that is, Lord. They call him also *Thien Zu*, which is to say, Sonne of Heaven; not because they believe him to be such, but because they hold, that Empire is a gift of heaven; as also to render the respect, which is due to the royall person, more sacred: and in realitie, the reverence which they use towards him, seemeth more befitting a Divine, than humane person; and the manner how they behave themselves at this day in his presence, is more proper for a Church, than a prophane Palace.

I said at this day, because in former times it was not so. For then the Kings of China lived according to the fashion of the greatest part of the other Princes of the world: They went abroad, converted, hunted; and there was one of them so greedy of this recreation, that whereby he might have the opportunity of spending whole monlhs together in hunting without returning to Court, and attending upon the affaires of government, did substitute one of his Sonnes in his place. The Emperours did visit in person the whole Kingdome, at what time there happened that storiy which is so famous in China, and which deserueth likewise to be known in Europe.

The Emperour going this progresse, in a certaine way met with a company of men, who were leading certaine prisoners. He caused the coach to stop, and enquired what the matter was; which as soone as he had understood, he fell a weeping. They who accompanied him began to comfort him, and one of them said unto him, Sir, *It is not possible, but that in a Commonwealth there must be chastisements*; *it cannot be avoyded*; *so have the former Kings, your predecessors, commanded it to be*; *so have the laws ordained it*; *so doth the government of the state require it*. The King answered, *I weape not to see these men prisoners, nor to see them chasteſed: I know very well, that without rewards the good are not encouraged, and without chastisement the wicked are not restrained, and that chasteſment is as necessary to the government of a Kingdome, as bread is for the nourishment and sustenance thereof*. But I weape, because my time is not so happy, as that of old was, *when the virtues of the Princes were such, that they served as a bridle to the people, and their example was sufficient to restraine the whole Kingdome without any other chasteſment*. This was a Heathen, who spake thus: and who feeth not how much reason we have to envy these Heathens, who, although they are exceeded by us in the knowledge of things belonging to faith, do yet oftentimes surpassee us in the practise of moral vertues?

According as I have said, the ancient Kings did personally attend the Government, giving audience very easily and very frequently to all their subjects. In the time of King *Tham* there was a *Colao*, who having been his Master, was very powerfull with him, who, to preserue him selfe in his grace and favour, studid more to speake what should please the King, than to tell him the truth for the good of his state: a most abominable thing. But the *Chinese* seeing his honour was great, and the Kings favour towards him very extraordinary, did dissemble it all; notwithstanding they forbore not to speak of it among themselves, and to taxe the flattery of this

the Colao. One day certaine Captaines of the guard discoursing among themselves in the Palace concerning this point, one of them, being a little warmed with the discourse, secretly withdrawing himselfe out of the company, went into the hall, where the King then was, & kneeled downe upon his knees before him, the King asking, what he would have? He answered; *Leave to cut off the head of a flattering subject.* And who is that, replied the King? Such a one, that stands there, answere the other. The King being angry, said, *Against my Master dare you propose this, and in my presence?* Let them take him away and cut off his head. When they began to lay hands upon him, he caught hold of a wooden balanster, and as there were many pulling of him, and he holding with a great deale of strength, the balanster broke. By that time the Kings anger was over; and he commanded they should let him go, and gave order, that the balanster should be mended, and that they should not make a new one, that it might remaine a witness of the fact, and the *Memoriall* of a subject, that was not afraid to advise his King, what he ought to do.

Such was the facility, with which, not only the Officers, but any one whosoever of the people, might have admission to the King, so that within the first gate of the Palace, there was always a Bell, a Drumme, and a Table overlaid with a white varnish, as it were, playstered over; upon this, he that would not speak to the King in person, wrote what his request was, which was presently carried to the King: But whosoever would speak with him, rang the Bell, or beat the Drumme, and presently they were brought in, and had audience.

The Drumme remaines even to this day; but as it feermeth to me, rather in memory of the times past, than for any use of the present: for during twenty two years time, I do not remember, that it was ever beaten above once: and he that did it, was presently paid his pension in ready *Bakinadoes*; for having disquieted the King, who was about halfe a league off. After this hard penance, he was heard, and allowed, not to see or speake to the King, but according to the custome now in use, in a petition. So that the Kings are now become so retired, and removed from the sight of the people, and as it were, so idolized, and mewed up in their Palaces, that they give them occasion to think in other Countries, that the King of China never suffereth himselfe to be seen, and that he is *ways shut up in a glasse*, and only sheweth one foot, and such like things.

He who first put himselfe in this manner of living, was *Vam Lie*, the Grandfather of him that reigneth at present; he had some occasion to do it, because he was so fat, that it put him to great paine and trouble, to carry himselfe in publick, with that *Gravite* and *Majestie*, that is proper to a King; and therefore he did exempt himselfe wholly from this trouble. He gave no *Audience*; he went not to the sacrifices; he went not out in publick: nevertheless he was a person of great prudence and judgement in managing the government: He was much esteemed of the *Mandarines*, though he made little account of them. He used to say many times, when any one was troublesome by replying often with their memorials or petitions, in which kinde the *Chineſſes* are very importunate, *I was a King, and governed before this fellow was borne, and yet he will undertake to teach me.*

His

His Sonne, who succeeded him, changed also the former fashion, as also they that followed, going out indeed in publick, but so moderately, that it is only sometimes in the month to hold a *Royal Audience*, and four times a year they go out of the *Palace*, and out of the City, to Sacrifice at the four seasons of the year, to *Heaven*, and to the *Earth*, in a *Temple* built for this purpose without the walls of the City.

This *Temple* is truly *Royall*, as well in the greatness thereof, as in the exquitenesse of the workmanship: the figure of it is round, with three rows of pillars one above another, for it stands as it were on a Hill or Mount compassed about with those pillars. The wall of the *Temple* beginneth at the top of the third row, there are four paire of staires by which they ascend to it, placed towards the four windes, all of white marble and very well wrought.

The *Temple* of *Nankin* is a very perfect and compleat piece of workmanship, it hath five Isles sustainted by pillars of wood, which have no painting or ornament upon them, except on their *pedestals*, that it may bee seen that each is made of one entire piece of wood. Truly they are the goodliest trees, the biggest, highest, most uniform and equal (although they are very many) that can be imagined. And as for my part, I confess it is one of the remarkable things I have seen in *China*, and that shall hardly find in all the rest of the world, so many trees of that beauty and uniformitie. The *Seeling* is all gilded, and although it be above 200 yeares since it was done, and that it be farre remote from the eye of the King, (the Sacrifices not being made therein, which are wont to be performed only at the Court, where the King resideth) yet it doth to this day keep its splendour. In the middle thereof are raised two Thrones made of the most precious marbles, on one of them the King used to sit when he came thither to sacrifice: the other was left empty for the *Spirit*, to whom the Sacrifice was offered. The gates are all adorned with plates of Copper, enriched with severall works and embossments, all gilt: without the *Temple* are many Alters, with the statues of the *Sunne*, *Moon*, *Planets*, *Spirits*, *Mountaines*, *Rivers* &c. Round about the *Temple* are severall cells, They say that anciently they were Bathes, where the King and the Ministers that were to Sacrifice, did wash themselves. The Grove, which standeth on the rest of the plaine, consisteth of severall trees, but the greatest part are Pines: not so much as a Twigge of them may be cut off under most grievous penalties. The wal that encompasseth it is covered with glazed Tiles, some of yellow colour, others of green. The circuit thereof is twelve miles.

To this *Temple*, as I said, the King cometh, and when he cometh forth, the wayes are Barracado'd, leaving only free that part through which the King is to passe: who bringeth with him so many *Eunuches*, who encompasse him, so many Officers that accompanie him, and so many Souldiers that guard him, that it is altogether impossible for him to be seen, especially being carried in a *Sedan*.

These are the only occasions, wherein the King either appeareth or goeth abroad. All the rest of his time he staith at home in his *Palace*, like a King of Bees, without either seeing or being seen. Many are perswaded

ded, that this is not to live like a King, but like a criminal Person condemned to perpetual imprisonment. How ever, it seemeth to me a great matter, that a man, without being seen, by his power only should be the most reverenced, the most obeyed and feared, of all the Kings in the world. And as for the prison, if we will call his *Palace* so, it is very large and pleasant for to give him delight, besides that he hath the libertie to go out whersoever he pleaseth, & his habitations therein are so commodious, and full of all manner of entertainment, of pleasure and recreation, that he hath no need to seek abroad wherewith to content himself.

His *Palaces*, laying every thing together that is contained in them, I think are the best that are to be found in the world. Those of *Nankim*, which are the biggest, containe about five miles in circuit. Those of *Pe-kim*, are somewhat lesse, but much the better. These are not all one *Palace*, but many, at a good distance one from the other. That of the *King*. That of the *Queen*. That of the *Prince*. That of the *Younger Sowmes*. That of his *Daughters* who are married. That of the *Second* and *Third Queens*. For the *Concubines* there are four, at the four corners, and are from them named the *Palaces* of the *Ladies*. There are also some *Palaces* for the old and Penitent women, which they call *Lemcum*, that is, the cold *Palaces*. Besides there are colledges for the *Eunuches*, for the *Litterati*, *Briefs*, *singing-men*, *Comedians* &c. and almost infinite habitations for so many Offices as there are there within, and for that multitude of people that are employed there, who are at the least 17000 persons.

The structure of the *Palaces* is very exact, having many things in it after the manner of ours, as *Arches*, *Balauers*, *Columns* and, such like, of Marble excellently wrought, with severall little workes and curious enrichments, as also emboslements, or figures in *relieve*, so well raised and standing out, that they seem to hang in the aire. That which is wrought in wood, is all varnished over with their *Charan*, painted and gilded very exquisitely.

The *Halls* and *Roomes*, although they are not, as it is here reported, one of Gold, another of Silver, another of precious stones, neither do they use any hangings; yet the hand of the Architect, and the penfull of the painter doth supply all other ornaments. The *Bale Courts* are very neat and spacious. There are also many pleasant Gardens, and a River which runneth among the *Palaces*, and yeeldeth them much delight with his windings and turnings. There are many artificial mounts with very rare Beasts and Birds, many Gardens made with exquisite diligence, and all manner of curiositie. There was a certaine King among them, who being discontented at the spoile which the winter made in the beauty of the trees, depriving them both of leaves and flowers, commanded that many artificial ones should be made, with great labour and expence, and little satisfaction of the Magistrates, who did much blame him.

The whole fabrique is encompassed with two walls that have four gates opening to the four windes, *East*, *West*, *North*, and *South*, and this last is the chiefeſt, and maketh a beautifull and flichtly *facciata* or aspect to the *Palaces*.

At every gate there stand every night five Elephants (which are not

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bred in that Countrie, but come from other parts) with their Souldiers belonging to them, and the whole wall round about is guarded with Soul-diers.

Within the said Gates, there is a Court able to containe 3000 Persons, and there standeth alwayes a Guard of 3000 men.

At the uper end of this Court there are five Gates, which lead into a very large *Hal* of the *Palace*; in the midst whereof is placed a *Royal Throne*, which standeth empty, and is called, *The Throne of courtesy*, because all they, who go out, do make their reverence to it, as you shall hear anone.

As for the Women, there is only one of them, which is the Kings true wife, and hath the name of *Hoam Hen*, which signifieth *Emperesse*, and is acknowledged for such, having her feate behind that of the Kings. There are also other six Women, who have the title of Queens, and are also much respected. In the *Palaces* of *Nankim*, which because they are empty, are more easie to be seen, there is a *Royall Throne* raifed upon severall steps, and a cloth of state over it, with two *Royall seates*, one for the King, and the other for the Queen. And lower behind that, there stand six, three on the one side, and three on the other, for the six Queens. The King hath thirty Women more, who are all much honoured and respec-ted.

The other Ladies of the *Palace*, who as they say, are about 3000 in number, have thair Appartments in the fourre *Palaces* above-laid, and are beautifull Dam'els, sought out on purpose through the whole Kingdome. To these the King goeth, when he pleaseth, and to which of them liketh him best.

The present King hath the reputation to be chaste, and they use to say of him, *Puyen Cum*, that is, *he goeth not to the Palaces*. There have been formerly other Kings, like to him in this, who are much commended in their histories; as on the contrary, others who are much blamed; such was one of them, whose beastial appetie, not being able to determine to what *Palace*, or to what part of it he should go, used in this irresolution to suffer himself to be led and guided by beasts, that is, he had a little chariot drawn with Goates, in which he rid to the *Palaces*, and whersoever they entred, or stopped, thither he went in.

Another, to save himself the labour of going to the *Palaces*, caused Pictures to be drawn of every Lide, and according as he fancied each Picture, he sent for the originall to be brought to him; leaving the beauty of each of them in the power of the Painter, she being still made the fayrest, who n he favoured most, or from whom he received the best Present.

But concerning the Kings children, if the Empresse and true wife of the King, hath a sonne, at what time soever he be borne, he taketh place of the reft: but if shee have none, the first sonne of any of his women whatsover, taketh place; although the King desire, that another should have the precedency. So it happened to *Yamlie*, who although he had none by his lawfull wife, the Empresse, yet had two sonnes, one by a waiting maid, which was the eldeſt, and another younger sonne by one of the Queens *Concubines*; which sonne he loved very much; and by reason of the

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particular affection he bore him, would by all means leave him the Kingdome, saying, That by reason he had no Sonne by his lawfull wife, the succession was not due by right to any of the rest, but that it belonged to him, to elect which of them he pleased: and because the elder was the Sonne of a servant, he chose rather to leave the Kingdome to the other; notwithstanding, the Officers of the Court did very stoutly oppole him, saying, That since he had had commerce with that servant, she was enabled by a superiour law, and that her sonne, being the eldest, he ought not to lose the rights and priviledge of his birth. There happened upon this a *Tragedy*, with severall acts of discontent. For the King persisted to carry on his intention, and the Officers in resifting him: whereupon many lost their offices, the King taking them away; others left theirs of their owne accord, and having laid downe the ensignes of their dignity, hung them up at the gate of the *Palace*, and departed to their own houses, despising at once the honour, profit, dignity and revenue of their places, only for the defence of reason, and of the laws and customs of the Kingdom. A courage worthy to be imitated, in divine affaires at least, if not in all secular causes. At length the King, being no longer able to contrast, was forced, besides his wont, to hold a *Royall Audience*, and taking his eldest sonne, now as Prince, placed him next behinde him, and shewing him to the *Mandarines*, he recommends unto them the care of the publick peace, and quiet without doores, assuring them, that within the Palace all was quiet, and that *Thai Cham*, that was the name of the present Prince, should succed him without fayle in the Kingdom, as in effect it fell out. So prevalent is reason, and the constancy of Counsellours even against the most powerful Kings.

Among the Domesticks of the *Palace*, the *Eunuchs* make the greatest number. In the year 1626, there were reckoned to be 12000, of them, and for the most part their number is very little greater; or lesse. They are all distributed into their *Palaces*, *Colleges*, *Clases*, *Tribunals*, and *occupations*: So that within the Royall *Palace*, there are as many *Tribunals*, to decide causes, as there are without; not to speake of the women, who have their justice apart; there being among them some, who are appointed to governe and judge the rest, and to decide their differences; as also to condemne and punish them: and this, no more than is necessary.

The first and principall *Colledge* of the *Eunuchs*, is called, *Sa Li Kien*; and consisteth of the great *Secretaria* of purity; of the chancery within the *Palace*, and of many *Affiliants*, who are always advanced in the same *Colledge* according to their examinations and trials. These always accompany the Kings person; and when he goeth abroad, have the place next his body. These may enter without being called; and, the manner of the Kings governing, being by way of petitions, and rescripts, every thing passeth through their hands.

Next followeth the *Colledge*, which they call, *Thum Cham Su*, which is, as it were, a *Souveraine Tribunal* of justice, over all the *Eunuchs*. This caufseth their persons to be arrested, this condemneth and caufseth them to be punisched; and not only the *Eunuchs*, but also other persons of great *Authority*, in matters of high concernment are remitted to them; and it is the most rigorous *Tribunal* of justice of all those in *China*. The *President* is also

Captaine

Captaine of the Kings guard, which consisteth of 9000. men, 6000. foot, and 3000. horse. In time of warre he entreth into the *Councell of warre*, where he is allowed the highest place.

There are also other *Colleges* and *Tribunals*; as those of severall *Treasuries*, the *Treasurie of Jewells*, of rich *Moveables*, of *Habits*, of *Magazines*, &c.

There is also a *Colledge* of *Judicall Astrologers*, who observe the stars, and the motion of the Heavens, who together with the chiefe *Mathematician*, who is always a *Mandarine* abroad, do make the *Almanacke* for the year following.

There is a *Colledge* of particular *Priests*, called *Laon Su*, (for the *Bonzi* are not admitted, neither may they enter into the Kings Palaces) these have the charge of the Divine service, the Chappells, Offices, and Sepultures of the dead &c. There are also *Colleges* of *Musitians*, *Comedians* or *Players*, *Painters*, *Gold-smiths*, every one performing his office requisite to a well ordered Common-wealth.

Without the *Palace* many are prefects of the publick works, of the guards which keep watch every night without the *Palaces*, of the Kings sepulchres, of the Gabells and Impostions, and other such employments, by which they grow very rich: and by reason they have no children (though they are most of them married,) they make great expences: they have sumptuous Country-houses without the City, and within, *Palaces* full of all delights, richly furnished, & a stately traine of Servants. Their sepulchres are the most costly, they have the strongest persuasion of the *Transmigration of Soules*, and that they might be well provided when they take their next new forme, are the most devoutest worshippers of the idols.

The *Eunuchs* are exempted from all those Courtesies & complements, which others are obliged to pay the *Mandarines*; as, lighting off their horses, or coming out of their chaires when they meet them. In the Court they are not permitted to have many servants after them, nor to weare very rich apparel, and but few are allowed to be carried in a *sedan*, yet almost all of them are suffered to ride on horse-back.

When in the *Palace* there is not an *Eunuch* that is the Kings *favourite*, the *Eunuchs* which live without the *Palace* are wont to make great Court to the *Mandarines*, lend them their faire and commodious houses, and endeavour by all observance to gain their good will. But if it happen, that the King have an *Eunuch* to his *favourite*, as sometimes it falther out, presently they grow insolent, the governments are conferred upon them, and then they get the upper hand.

The last King had an *Eunuch*, who arrived to all that grace and favour with him, that can be imagined: this fellow governed with so great insolence and *Tyranny*, that he apprehended, chastised, and put to death, even Persons of the greatest *Qualitie*. To touch him, though but in imagination, was an excesse of *Treason*. And though the *Chineses* are very free and bold in speaking the truth, even to the King himselfe, yet none durst speak against him.

The *Prince*, who is now King, undertooke the busynesse; who only told the

the King his f.ther, that his subjects Persons of worth and quality were ill used. This was sufficient to banish the *Eunuch* out of the Palace, who at length miserably ended his dayes. For as soone as the King was dead, he poysoned himselfe; and at the same time put a period to his favour and his life; but not to the peoples hatred, who as loone as he was dead, dragged him about the streets, and tore him to pieces: All his goods were confiscate to the King: they amounted to a great value, for there was scarce any body who had not formerly presented him, and many had given him very rich presents. Among other things there were found two chefts full of Pearle only; it was said, he had robbed the Kings Treasury of them. The sumptuous works, which were either begun or ended through the whole Kingdom, in honour of him, as Temples to place his statue in (which they call *Temples of the living*, and use to erect them to eminent persons, who have deserved well of the King and Kingdome) Palaces, Triumphall Arches, and such like fabriques, were all cast down to the ground, leaving no other memory of them, than a comedy, which was prently made of him, and is yet acted to this day, concerning his disgrace and driving out of the Palace.

Now because some of these *Eunuchs*, are many times dismissed, and turned away, others grow old, and many die, from time to time there are young ones chosen in, to be put in their places: upon this account there comes almost infinite of these *Eunuchs* to the Court, who are made such by their parents; either for the profit which they make by it, because they are always bought of them for a price, or else for the advantage they may receive by them, when they come to preferment in the Palace, or for those other conveniences, which are certaine and assured to persons of this condition.

At every election, there are chosen about 3000 of them; at what time they principally consider in their choise, their age, good shape and behaviour, their speech and gracefull pronunciation, but above all, that they wholly want that, which they pretend to have lost, and that they be compleatly *castrated*; and moreover, every fourth year they are visited, least any thing should grow out againe, which hath not been well taken away.

When the election is done, the rest are sent away from the Court, and those that are chosen, are distributed to those lodgings, occupations and offices, to which they are to apply themselves. This is done almost, as it were by destiny, for without obseruing of them any more than a few days, some are put to study, and go to the Colledges of the greatest credit, honour and profit, others are chosen for Priests, others for Singers, Comedians, &c. And others for the kitchin, and such like meane and laborious occupations.

This is that which passeth in the *Palace* within the gates in what appertaineth to the Kings person and service. That which passeth without doores is also very particular, and with so much exactnesse, that it exceedeth all *Hyperbole*: and although the kingdome be so vast and large, yet it is not sufficient to hide one guilty person, that would make his escape. The very trees seem to be afraid to cover him with their shade. If a per-

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son of qualitie be to be apprehended, they send the Ministers of justice to him, who have no more to do, but to throw the cord or chaine at his feet, the which he himselfe taketh up, and putteth about his neck, as if it were a chaine of Gold; and the very name of these is sufficient to strike a terrour in any.

In the City of *Szechuen* in the Province of *Nankim*, there lived a *Mandarine*, a grave Person, who had passed through most of the greatest Offices in the Kingdome, with great satisfaction and good liking of the people, it was in the time of that powerfull *Eunuch*, of whom we spake even now, this man had intelligence that these Ministers of justice would be sent to him, he stayed not their coming, but made a banquet to his kindred and friends, toward the end thereof going out, as if it had been upon some other occasion, he cast himselfe out of a Balcone into a fish Pond, where he drowned himselfe. His Guests seeing him stay so long, went out to looke him, and found upon a Table a paper having these words written with his own hand, *Turning towards the Palace, I performe the reverence due to my King, whom I have always endeavoured to serve with resolutions becoming a faithfull subject: and it is not reasonable, that I should suffer from the hand of an Eunuch affronte worthy a base and criminal Person.*

There needs no more than two letters sent from the King, and put in any place, to make it remaine, as it were, enchanted: so that, if they want any thing in the Palace, as *Chu*, *Fruit*, &c. it is sufficient to send to the Country, where those things are they desire, to give them notice only, and to set up those two letters, *Xm Chi*, that is, *the will of the King*, and prently every thing is made ready, and none dare stir so much as a leafe of it. The same thing hapneth when there is any extraordinarie businesse to be done, which carrieth some difficultie with it, for it is sufficient to set up the two letters above-said, and all opposition is levelled, as it fell out when the King gave the houses of an *Eunuch*, who was a prisoner, to the Fathers of our company, for a burying place, by clapping the said letters upon them.

In all the Cities of the Kingdome every moneth, on the first day of the moone the Magistrates assemble themselves at the tribunall of the Government before a Throne, where are placed the *Royall Ensignes*, and there they do reverence to them in the same manner, as they would do to the King himselfe, if he were present. They doe the like also on his birth day.

At the beginning of every yeare each Province sendeth an Embassadour to visit the King, and as often as they write letters to him, they do not send them by way of the post, but a principall *Mandarine* goeth to carry them. But their memorials, or petitions they send by the Post. Every three yeeres, all the great *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, go to do homage to the King.

None may enter into the *Royall Palaces*, no not into the first gate, if he be clothed in Mourning, neither do they go to make their reverence in an ordinarie habit, but in that extraordinaire one appointed for *Courtesies*, and the Magistrates are to put on a red garment.

None, of what condition soever, may passe before the gates of the Palace on horse-back, nor in a Sedan, nor in any other manner, except on foot

foot, no not if they be women; and by how much the *Qualities* of the Person is the greater, so much the further off is he to light, and go a-foot.

All the Officers and Persons of *Qualities*, who come to the Court, are presently obliged either in the morning early, if they come, or late at night, if they go out, to go to *Kun Chao*, that is, the Court of *Ceremonies*, as is above said, and before the *Royall Throne*, which is placed in a Hall, although the King be not there, who at that hour is for the most part in bed, and when all that came in that morning, are assembled, (there being no morning that there is not a good number of them) the Master of the *Ceremonies* commeth, and with a loud voice declareth the *Ceremonies*, which every one ought to performe, and they all in the same manner put them in execution: and if by misfortune any one committeth an error or doth any gesture not reverently enough, it belongeth to the Master of the *Ceremonies* to give the King notice thereof by a memoriall, as in like manner doth the Person that is culpable, accusing himselfe, and requiring some penance for it: but this is done purely out of *Ceremony*, the king never taking any heed to it.

All *Embaſſadors* are obliged likewise to the same *Ceremonies*, when they enter into the Court, or go out there, if they use to be lodged in one of the *Palaces*, which are within a spacious circuit of wal, neare to the *Royal Palace*, and are always kept in a readineſſe for that purpoſe, where they are royally treated, and at great expence, but they may not go out of that circuit, and if they would have any thing out of the City, it is brought to them into that place: they neither ſeanor ſpeak to the King, but only the *Council of Rites* by the Kings order treateth with them, and diſpatched them.

The *Portugeffes*, thoſe two ſeverall times they were ſent thither from the City of *Macaō*, were not only treated with extraordinary magnificence, and liberality, but had also that particular privilege to lodge out of that place: and the firſt of them that were ſent, ſaw King *Thienkbie*, the brother of him who now reigneth, he was very young, and out of curioſtie to ſee men of a ſtrange Nation, he cauſed them to come to the *Palace*, and althoſh it was at a good diſtance, yet he ſaw them, and was plainly ſeen by them.

Every one in the Kings preſence ſpeaketh to him on his knees, if he be in the *Royall Hall* with the Magiſtrates, he goeth away before they riſe up, if he be ſick and they come to viſit him, they ſpeak to him in the ſame manner, and before they riſe off their knees a Curtaine is drawn before him, or elſe he turneth himſelf on the other ſide. When they ſpeak to him, they hold in their hands before their mouth a Tablet of Ivory a palm and a half long, and three or four inches broad: it is an ancient *Ceremony*, for in old time, when they ſpake in a more familiar manner to the King, out of reverence they held ſomething between, to keep their breath from coming to the Kings face, and alſo when they diſcourſed with him of many businesſes, they carried the heads of them written thereon, that they might not forget them. But now that they ſpeak to the King at ſuch a diſtance, and not ſo long, this *Ceremonie* might be excused,

if it were not, that they will keep up an old custome.

The Kings *Garments* differ not in faſhion from thoſe of the reſt, but in the ſtuſſe, which is very rich, and in certaine Dragons which are woven and embroide red in them, and no other Persons may weare them, but on ly the King, and thoſe that are of kin to him; as the *Princes* of the *Blond*, and particularly the women, and the *Eunuchs* of the Kings family, but with ſome diſtincſion. The colour is yellow, not but that other colours may be weorne in the Palace, for they weare light colours of all ſorts, but yellow is ſo proper to the King, and to all that he wears, that none elſe may weare it.

How the Kings of China are Married.

AT that time, when there were ſeverall Kings and Lords in *China*, they tooke one anothers daughters for *Wives*, as they do in *Europe*. But they being at an end, and the *Monarchy* reduced under one only Lord, and he being never to take a wife out of the Kingdom, it is neceſſary, that he marry a daughter of one of his ſubjeſts. Persons of *Quality* will not give him their daughters, for he being to ſee them, whether he liketh them or no, and they being to be turned off, if they pleafe him not, no perſon of any *Quality* will ſhew his daughter, because ſhe may be refuſed, after ſhe is ſeen, especially by reaſon that the fight and triall of them is to paſſe further then to what is ſeen in the outward frontispiece. They do not, nor may not marry with their kindred, though in never to remote a degr ee: and therefore there is fought through the whole Kingdom a Damſell of twelve or fourteen years of age, of a perfect beauty, of good natural parts, and well inclined to thoſe vertues, which are required in a *Queen*, in the ſame manner, as in ancient times the *Shunamite* was fought out for *David*, and *Eſher* for *Abaſneurus*: and this is done without exception of perſons: whence for the moſt part the *Queen* is the daughter of ſome *Ar tizan*.

When they have found out ſuſh a one, as they looked for, they conſigne her to two ancient Matrons, who ſee that which all may not fee; and if they finde no displeaſing marke, or deformity about her body, they make her runne to put her in a ſweat, that they may examine, whether there be any unpleaſing ſmell from it: when theſe Matrons are ſatiſfied with the diligencie they haue ued, ſhe is brought to Court, with a great traine of women and men ſervants, and with an equipage becoming a per ſon, who from hence forward doth appetaine to the King: to whom ſhe is preſentled in his *Palace*, who after he hath ended his complements, he giveth her to the Prince for a wife: and this is afterwards the true *Queen*. Within the *Palace*, they appoynt to waite on her vertuous women, of prudence, and understanding, that they may inſtruſt her, as well in vertue, as in complements, and the ſtyle of the *Palace*, endeavouring to breed her in ſuſh manner, that ſhe may deſerve the name of a *Queen*, whom they commonly

commonly call *Que Mu*, that is, Mother of the Kingdom: And as their Histories relate, there have been many of these of great worth and merit. They are very commonly devoute and charitable; and many of them have been prudent and vertuous.

Such was one of them, who being the daughter of a Mafon, after she came to be *Queen*, she kept always by her an Iron Trewell; and when the Prince her Sonne, upon any occasion, behaved himselfe more haughtily than became him, she sent to shew him that Instrument, with which his Grandfather used to lay stones for his living; by which means, she reduced him to his *Devoir*. In old times when Kings took it good part to be reproved for their errors, King *T'ie* had a *Colao*, who at the Royall Audience wold tel him his faults without any indulgence: One day, whether the King had given more cause, or that the excesse was on the *Colao* part, the Audience being ended, the King returned into the Palace very much offended, saying, He would cut off the head of that impertinent fellow. The *Queen* asked him the caule of his displeasure: the King answered, low. There is an unmannery Clown, that never ceaseth to tel me of my faults, and that publickly, I am resolued to send one to take of his head. The *Queen* tooke no notice of it, but retired to her Apartment, and put on a particular garment proper only for feastivalls, and visits, and in this habit she came to the King, who wondering at it, asked her the cause of this *No-veltie*. The *Queen* answered, Sir, I come to wish your Majesty much joy: Of what, replied the King. That you have a subiect, said she, that feareth no: to tell you your faults, to your face, seeing that a subiects confidence, in speaking so boldly, must needs be founded upon the opinion he hath of the virtue and greatnesse of his Princes minde, that can endure to hear him. There have been many other like to this *Queen*.

The kindred of the Maiden are presently exalted to honours and em-ployments: The family is already accounted, rich and honourable; and by how much more the *Queen* gaineth favour within, they without are so much the more advanced.

The rest of the Kings Sonnes are maried after the same manner: only they do not use so much diligence, and caution in finding out the bride, but for the most part she is sought for, and found in the Court it selfe. But the manner of marrying the daughters is very different. There are twelve young men sought out of the age of 17 or 18 years, the lustiest and the handsonest they can finde; these are brought into the Palace to a place, where the Princessse may see them, and not be feen; and when she hath well considered them, she selecteth two of them: These are presented to the King, who chuseth which of them he liketh best, to be his Sonne-in-law.

Vamlie, the Grandfather of the present King, upon the like occasion, seeing one of the two young men presented to him, very well cloathed, and the other, though neat, yet poorly habited, asked him, what was the reason, he was not so well cloathed as the other. The youth answered, Sir, my father is poore, and cannot afford it me. Then replied the King, I will have you that are the poorest for my Sonne-in-law: and being thus chosen, he did afterward carry himselfe worthy of commendations. And truly

truly a youth ought not to be ashamed of his povertie, nor a King for having chosen a poore man. The rest are sent home againe, but are accounted *Noble* ever after, for having had the honour to be admitted to election.

Presently two *Mandarines* of the most confiderable in the Court, are appoynted for Tutoirs unto these *Fum Ma*, so they call the Kings Sonne-in-laws; to instruct them in learning, manners, and Courty behaviour &c. He is obliged every day to make the fourre ordinary reverences upon his knees to his wife, till she hath brought him a child, affoone as she is delivered, this obligation ceaseth, although there are still a great many other constraints, and inconveniences upon them, which is the reaon, that no man of *Qualite* will be the Kings Sonne-in-law. For this reaon the usuall custome of chusing twelve is now left off, and if the King do earnestly invite any peron of *Qualite*, or *Litterato* of reputation, to be his Sonne-in-law, (as it hath sometimes fallen out) he excuseth himselfe with all the skill and friends he hath, for if the *Princessse* take a dislike against her husband (as it often happeneth) she gives him affliction enough for all his life.

Of the Nobilitie of China.

THe Nobilitie of China at this day is much changed from what it was anciently, when, by reason there were many Kings and Soveraigne Lords, they matched into one anothers families, and the Kings themselves, made many noble men, whom they used to employ, as also their neerest kinsmen, in charges and governments of the greatest importance, and by this means their families continued on foot for many years. At this day the most of the *Nobilitie* have been raised by their learning, to the highest honours, from a low condition, many of them having been the Sonnes of *Ariazans* and *Handicrafts-men*, as also, for want of learning, their families decline and grow againe into povertie, so that it is a rare thing to see a family last to the fift generation: for as the first beginners, being forced by necessitie, and stirred up by a desire to advance themselves, study and take paines to obtaine their degrees, and consequently Governments and other Preheminences; So the rest, who follow, and are borne rich, and bred up in delights, and wantonnesse, suffer themselves to be carried away with the pleasures of living high, and the vices which accompany it, study little, and spend much, so that in a short time, they finde themselves reduced to the first condition of their Ancestours. Notwithstanding, there is some shadow and resemblance left of the ancient *Nobilitie*, and it may be reduced to five orders, not mentioning those common people, who are of no account.

The first *Nobilitie* is of the King, Prince, the Kings Children, and the Royall family, which is preferred in this manner. The Prince succeedeth his father in manner above-said.

To his Younger Sonnes the King assigneth a habitation, out of the Court, in such a Province or City as shall seem best to him, with Palaces, Furniture, and Servants suitable to his high qualitie, and lands and revenues, which he purchafeth for him in the same place; as also a competent penfion out of the Kings exchequer.

He that dwelt in the Province of *Xensi*, where I lived, for sometime, had, as I was informed, 36000 Crownes per annum, and the title of a King conferred on him; and all the Officers of the Province were obliged to pay him respect suitable to his Title: whence every first and fifteenth day of the Moone they went to do him reverence in like manner, as is done at Court to the King; there being nothing wanting to him to make him an absolute King, but only Authority and Jurisdiction, of which he had nothing at all, neither over the people, nor in the government; the King reserving all that to himselfe, neither hath he libertie to go out of the City and Territorie, where he hath his residence.

The *Eldel Sonne* succeedeth his Father in his estate and goods; the rest marry and make severall Families, which stil grow lesser, although they be great; and the King giveth them an allowance competent for them; and as they are removed stil to a further degree from the Kings blood, so likewise their penfion diminishest, till it cometh to fourefore Crownes a yeare, and there it stoppeth; there being none so remote from the Royal Stemme, that hath not, at the least, this Revenue. Yet nevertheless, all this is to be understood only, if those that are descended from him, have certaine conditions, that are required of them; for if these be wanting, they have nothing given them at all.

The *First condition* is, that they be Males; for if they be Females, there is no account made of them, and the Father marrieth them to whom, and when he will; but not to Princes of the blood; (neither may the Sonnes marry, but with Women of other Families) and he is to marry them at his own expences.

The *Second condition* is, that the Sonne be lawfully begotten on the true wife; not only bastards being excluded, but also the Sonnes of their concubines, if they have any.

The *Third* is, that asoon as his Sonne is borne, he do give a memorial to the King, to give him a name, which is to be registred in the roll.

The *Fourth* is, that having attained the age of 14 years, he give another memoriall to the King, praying him to give order, that he may receive halfe his penfion, which he after receiveth every year at set times.

The *Fifth*, that when he cometh to age to be married, there be another memoriall given to the King, wherein is required leave for him to marry, and then he receiveth the whole penfion which is assigned him.

These are the *Princes of the Blood*, descended from the King by a right male line. These are not to live in the two Courts of *Pekim* and *Nankim*, nor in all the Provinces indifferently, but only in some certaine places; and are so numerous, that they are beleaved to amount to 60000 and are all maintained by the King. But they have this advantage, that they may help themselves by their industrie, in buying and selling, and playing the Merchants.

For

For the government of them, and to present their memorials to the King; to decide their controversies; and to punish them, if there be cause, they have a particular *Mandarine*, that is proper to them. But if they have any suits with others, who are not of the blood Royall, such causes are under the cognizance of the ordinary justice, who may reprove them, but hath not the power to punish them, but if any of them commit any notable disorder, he giveth notice thereof to the King, who for such occasions hath a Castle in the Province of *Kianfu*, encompassed with a very high wall, whither he confineth them during life.

The *Second Order of Nobilitie* is of the *Tiinalai*, or Noblemen that have Titles conferred upon them: who notwithstanding are but the shadow of what they were in former times. These are divided into four orders. The *First* they call *Qucum*, a new Title, and are only four Families, who were raised by the King *Humuu*, and are descended from four valiant Captaines, who served the said King against the *Tartars*. They are, as it were, Dukes and Captaines Generall of the *Militia*, and do assist in that *Qualite*, at certaine military actions of great importance, when they are done in the Cities where they inhabit; but they never go to the war. The *Second* are *Heus*. The *Third Pe.* The *Fourth Chi Ho Ei*, all ancient Titles. They have Offices in the *Militia*, and a competent revenue, and all of them succeed their Fathers in their power, authority, and command. They give place to many Officers of the *Litterati*: but, at an assembly in the Royal Hall, they precede all of them.

The *Third order* containeth all them, who either have or doe minister in the Government of the Kingdome, whether they be officers of warre, as *Generalls* or *Captaines*, or of the *Politick and Civil Government*; whether they be upream, such as are the *Colas*, or inferiour Ministers, as well the *Mandarines* of other Cities, as those of the Court, even to those of the smallest Burghs and Villages: neither are they excluded from this order, who neither Govern, nor have governed, but are in Election to be received into the Government; such are all *Graduates*, as *Dostours*, *Licentiates* and *Bachelours*. In a word, this order consisteth of *Litterati*.

The *Fourth* is of *Students*, who, although they have never taken any degree, yet only for being *Students*, and that they are in a way to obtain them, are put into the rank of the *Nobilitie*, and treated as such, although they have no priviledge or authoritie.

The *Fifth* is of those Persons, whom they call *Netti*, or cleanly men, who live either of their Rents or Merchandise: and when their wealth is much, their honour is not little: and although without learning their power and credit is not so great as among us; yet they are much respected by the people.

CHAP. 25.

Of the Government of China, and of
the Officers.

THE principall Government of *China*, which embraceth the state of the whole Monarchie is divided into six *Councils*, called by them *Pū*. These do not only govern in the two Courts where they do reside, but from these, as from the first movers, the rest of the government dependeth: and to these persons, causes, and matters, according as appertaineth unto each, all is subordinate, with an incredible dependance and obedience.

Every one of these *Councils* hath its *President*, whom they call *Cham Xū*, with two *Assistants*, one of the lefthand, who is the first, called *Co Xi Lam*; the other of the Right, named *Ge Xi Lam*. These are the chiefeſt and most profitable offices of the whole Kingdom, except the *Colai*, of whom we will speak hereafter: ſo that when a *Vice-roy* of any Province, even of the moſt principall, after he hath given good Testimoniſe of his abilitie, is to be preferred, he holdeth himſelf well provided for, not only if he be made *President* of one of theſe *Councils*, but also if he come to be one of the *Affeffors* or *Assistants*, either of the lefthand, or the right.

Besides theſe, who are the chiefeſt of the *Council*, there are ten others of the ſame *Tribunall*, almoſt all equal in digniteſ, who are diſtributed into ſeveral offices and employmens. To theſe are added other great and leſſer officers, as *Notaries*, *Scribes*, *Secretaries*, *Minifters*, *Captaines* of *Jufiice*, and many others, who are not uſual among us in *Europe*.

The firſt and chiefeſt *Council*, which is of the moſteſt authoritie and profit, is the *Council of State*, called *Si Pū*. To them it belongeth to pro-pofe the Mandates of the whole Kingdome, concerning Officers, to change and promote them: for after any one hath been once provided of an Office, he alwaies rifeſh by degrēes to greater employmens: nor are they ever excluded from the Governmen, unleſſe it be for ſome notable fault committed either by themſelves, or by ſuch as appertaine to them, as their Sons, neare kinred, and the like. To this *Tribunall* alſo belongeth the power to reſtore againe any that is turned out of his office: as, if a *Mandarine*, by ſome accident, loſt his office, they can eaſily put him in again: and upon this account they have very many, and very great bribeſ given them.

The ſecond is the *Council of Warre*, called *Pim Pū*. This alſo, as well as the *Council of State*, hath authoritie over all the Magiſtrates of the *Liu-terati*, as alſo over the officers of warre, and taketh cognizance of all affaires belonging to the *Militia*, and is of great profit.

The third is the *Council of Rites*, named *Lim Pū*. This, although it hath not ſo great command, nor bringeth ſo much profit, is notwithstanding more conſiderable, because the *Mandarines* thereof are of the *Royall Colledge*, and are from hence preferred to be *Colai*, which is the chiefeſt dignity

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digniteſ in *China*. To this *Colledge* doth apperteine all affaires concerning *Letters*, *Temples*, *Ceremonies*, *Sacrifices*, the *Bonzi*, *Strangers*, *Embaſſadours*, and ſuch like things.

The fourth is the *Council of the Kings Patrimony*, called *Hu Pū*, it taketh care of the Kings Revenues, Taxes, Impositions, Gabels, Excife, Tributes, and generally whatſoever concerneth the Kings *Domaine*.

The fifth is called *Cum Pū*, it is ſuper-intendant over all publick works, particularly the Kings buildings, as thoſe of the *Palaces* that are made for the Kings children, for the Officers; over Walls, Gates, Bridges, Cawfewaies, cleaſing of Rivers, and whatſoever belongeth to the Ships and Barkes, as well for the ſervice of the King and the publicke, as for the Armadoes,

The ſixt hath the care of all Criminaſl matters, and to inflict punishments: it is called *Him Pū*, and is Judge of the moſt Criminaſl matters, and other things appertaining thereto.

Befides theſe ſix *Councils*, which are the moſt principall of the Court, there are other nine *Tribunals*, called *Kich Kim*, with fevall offices which do particularly belong to the Kings houſhold.

The firſt is called *Thai Liu*, as one would ſay, The great reaſon it is, as it were, the great Chancery of the Kingdom. They examine, as being the laſt appeal, the judgements and ſentences of the *Tribunals* of the Court; and thither are brought all facts of great moment. It conſiſteth of thirteen *Mandarines*, that is, one *President*, two *Collaterals*, and ten *Counfellours*.

The ſecond is called *Quan Lo Sū*, and is as it were, High Steward of the Kings houſhold, to whose charge it belongeth to provide the diet, for the King, the Queen, the Ladies, the *Eunuchs*, and to have the laying out of the whole expence of the *Palace*, to pay the *Salaries* to the Officers of the Court, and to all thoſe that come thither upon publick busineſſe, to Embaſſadours, which come from other Countries, and other ſuch like Persons. It hath a *President*, two *Affeffors*, and ſeven *Counfellours*.

The third is *Thai Po Cu Sū*, and is, as it were, Chief Master of the horſe to the King, and they have not only the charge of all Horſes for the Kings ſervice, but of all that belong to the Posts, and generally of all others, which belong to the publick ſervice of the Kingdom. It hath a *President*, and ſeven *Counfellours*.

The fourth is, as it were, Master of the Ceremonies and complements of the Court. It belongeth to them to affiſt at all the Ceremonies of the publick Actions of the King, at feaſtivalls, and other times and occasions, which preſent themſelves, and alſo at the daily Ceremonies, which are performed in the *Palace*, by thoſe that come in, or out, as is aboveſaid. It hath a *President*, two *Affeffors*, and ſeven *Counfellours*.

The fifth is of Rites in more particular matters, and in that it is diſſerent from the firſt, but it hath the ſame forme with its *Affeffors*. It taketh care of the ſacrifices, of the Royall ſepulchres, of Mountaines, Groves, and all that belong to them, as Singers, Instruments, living creatures for ſacrifice, &c.

Moreover, *China* hath another *Tribunall*, which hath only charge of the *Memorials*, which are preſented to the King, and is, as it were, a Chancery of

of Requests; so that such petitions, as are not approved of by them, are never given to the King. This Tribunall was the occasion, in the time of the perfection of the Christians 1616, that when we would have given an account of the law, which we preached, and of the things which were imputed to us, our Memorial could never passe, it being still rejected by them.

There are other three in the same form, with severall charges & offices. Beside the abovesaid *Tribunals*, there are two more, one called *Quoli*, the other *Tauli*: these, although they have their eye upon severall Provinces, each upon those matters which appertaine to them; nevertheless their proper occupation and principall office is, to take notice of the erreours and disorders of the Kingdom, and to advertise the King of his own failings, if he hath any, as also of the faults of the *Mandarines* and their Government: and as it was never hard for any to tell the faults of others, yet these have a particular Talent in it, and doe it with great liberty, though many times with little Justice.

Their manner is to frame a *Memoriall*, and present it to the King (for
thoſe of thofe two *Tribunals* do not paſſe through the Chancery of *Memorialls*) and then preſently, (as they call it, *Fa C Heo* that is,) to tranſcribe
it, and ſo to ſend a copy of it to the Notaries, whereof there are many de-
ſigned for this worke. These write many copies of it, which are ſent by
the next poſts, from the Court to be diſperſed through the whole King-
dom: and by this means it is preſently known every where, by whom,
and againſt whom, this *Memoriall* is preſented, & the miſdeeds contained
therein, of what qualitie ever they be. Aſſoone as this *Memoriall*, which
they call *Puen*, is published, preſently the Magiſtrate, or other perſon, a-
gainſt whom it is framed, is obliged to do two things, whether it be with,
or againſt his will, (which is more ordinary.) The firſt is, that he give in
a *Memoriall*, not in his own defence, (for to excuse himſelf were to ſhew
little humilitie,) but he muſt ſay therein, that the *Tant* hath great cauſon;
that he hath committed a great error, and is in fault, and doth deserve to
have a penance laid upon him, and that with all ſubjection, he will ſub-
mit to any punishment, that shall be impoſed. The ſecond is, that he pre-
ſently retire himſelf, and leave the *Tribunal*, and fo all *Acts* of *Justice* are
ſuspended, fo that he neither giveth audience, nor endeth any ſuite, until
the King have anſwered his petition, and declared his pleaſure thereon;
the which is ſometimes in his favour, and then he continueth his office;
and ſometimes againſt him, more or leſſe, according to the quality of his
fault. There is no doubt, if this way were executed with reaon and good
conscience, but that it would be much in favour of *Justice*, and the good
Government of the Common-wealtheſt; as on the contrary ſide, it is an o-
pen gate to many cauſelſe troubles and diſgraces. It faltereth out many
times, that a *Mandarine* in performing his office, and acquitting himſelfe
of the duty of his place, doth make himſelfe many enemies. Some one of
thefe, if he be a perfon that hath intereſt with any that is an Officer of
thofe two *Tribunals*, as kinſman, friend, &c. he giveth account of i to
the Court, the *Memoriall* flyeth abroad, and God help the poore *Manda-*
rine. When they are leſſer *Mandarines*, as *Judges*, *Assiftants* to *Gouvernours*,

or *Mandarines in Armes*; at one blow, they lay him flat on the ground. If they be great *Mandarines*, there is more difficulty: but if they know, how to finde a hole in their coats, and the *Tauki* and *Qoli* get him in their clawes, they never give them over, till they have un-horsed them, so that the King himselfe is hardly able to save them.

The like accident happened to that Tyrant *Xin*, who in the year 1626 (being *Xi cam* in *Nankim*) raised a persecution against the Christians, and caused the fathers to be banished, as shall be related in its proper place. He arrived afterwards to the dignity of a *Coho*; and caused four ensignes to be hanged out at the 4 corners of his *Palace*, (I was then present in the same City that is in *Hamcheu*) and made other demonstrations of extraordinary joy. But whether it were, that the Lord would chastise him for the persecutions he raised against his *elef*, or whether he deserved punishment for any other particular crimes according to humane laws, or for both together, assoone as his orders were come, and before he was departed to go to Court, there was so terrible a *Memorial* put in against him, that a *Christian Mandarine* told me, it would not be possible for him to hold up his head: and so he was prently glad to take in his *Standard*, and depart with ordinary Ceremonies. He was notwithstanding a politike crafty man, and had purchased with his mony in the *Palace*, the good will both of the *Ladies* and the *Eunuchs*, who are not wont to sell their favours at a low rate. These did not only cause a *Memorial* to be dispatched in his favour, but used means for him to be sent for to Court. At length he went, but after a few moneths there was another *Memorial* given in against him, and after that severall others, to the number of twenty seven; and the crimes laid to his charge were such, that the King could not help him, so that he was forced to quit his Government, and retire to his house.

Beside these two Tribunals, there is another which is superior to all the rest, and is the supreame dignity of the Kingdom; to which none do arrive, but those of the Royall Colledge, called *Han Lin*, after they have Governed a long time, and given such testimony of their *abilitie* and *inTEGRITIE*, that never any *Memoriall* was given in against them. They are called by the name of *Colao*, they are commonly but *fourre*, and may never exceed the number of *six*.

The old King (Grandfather to him that reigneth at present) never made but one of them at a time; saying, That more were superfluous. These have no particular office, but have an eye over the Government of the whole Kingdome. We may not unfitly call them the *supreme Presidents* of all the *Councils*, and of the whole Government, although they are never present at them, but assit the King at all dispatches of affaires; and now that the King doth not use to be present there himselfe, they alwayes assit in the Palace, to receive and answer all bisfiness, and the *Memorials*, which are every day givenin. These report them to the King, who pronounceth the last sentence upon them. These *Colai* are very much respect-ed by all the *Magistrates*, and at set times they do them reverence as to their superiours, in a publick Hall. The *Colai* stand up, and all the Officers of the Court passe before them in their order; and when they come right over against them, they turne towards them, and make them a profound Reverence.

Reverence to the very ground. They call this *Cerimony Quo Tham*, that is, To passe the Hall. Their ensignes, or badges of honour, are different from those of the rest, and their girdle, which they call *Tu Xe*, is richly set with precious stones. They only are allowed to ware it, and it is given them by the King, as in Europe Kings doe use to give *Collars* of their orders to their knightrs. And when they are sick, it is only to these, that the King sendeth to visit them with *Regaloes* and dainties from the *Palace*, and they do sufficiently gratifie the *Eunuch* that brings them, for the least they give him is fifty crownes, which is more in that Country, than 200 here.

Beside these supreame and generall Governours at the Court, who do not only govern that, but the whole Kingdom also, there are likewise particular and ordinary Governours and Judges of every City, and these observe the same manner of Government as well in the Cities and Townes of the other Provinces, as also in those of *Pekim* and *Nankim*, where the two Courts are, as shall be related hereafter.

CHAP. 26.

Of the Government of the thirteen Provinces.

WE have formerly spoken of the universall Government of the whole Kingdome, which resideth in the two *Courts*, it followeth now, that we should speak of the particular Government of the *Provinces*, every one whereof is a large Kingdom. This Government resideth ordinarily in the *Metropolis* or chiefe City of each *Province*. In each of these there are five *Tribunals*, that have a generall command over the whole Province, and distinct offices among themselves. Of these five, two are supreame, to which all others, both of the Cities and Townes, are subordinate: But they among themselves are not subjected one to the other, but are immediately subordinate to the King and the *Royall Tribunals*: These consist of one *President*, or Judge, without any Assistant or Councillour, although they have many other Officers.

The first of these two is the *Vice-roy* of the *Province*, whom they call *Tut Ham*, or *Kiun Muen*. He hath power over all the Magistrates, and people of the *Province*. He Governeth for three years, and hath constant Posts, that come & go from the Court at set times, being to give account of whatsoever passeth in the *Province*. He is received into the City in great pompe and state. When he is ready to depart the Court, many of the Officers of his *Tribunal* go thither, to receive him, others meet him a good part of the way, where from City to City he is honourably accompanied both by horse and foot: And three miles before he cometh to the City, where he is to reside, there go out certaine Captaines with 3000 Soldiers to receive him, after these follow the Magistrates, and after them an innumerable company of people.

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The *Second Office*, which is also absolute, is called *Chas Foven*, we have no Office in Europe, that is answerable to it: he is, as it were, *Visitor* of the *Province*. It lasteth only a year, it is of great rigour and much feared. He hath authority to take *Cognizans* of all causes both *Criminal* and *civil*; of the *Militia*; of the *Kings Patrimonie*; in a word, of all. He visiteth, enquireth, and informeth himself of all, even to the *Vice-roy* himself: the inferior *Mandarines* and Judges he may punish, or turne them out of their places. Concerning the greater *Mandarines*, if there be cause, he is to give in *Memorials*, and they are from thence forward suspended from the function of their Offices, till the Kings answer come from Court,

To him it belongeth to cause the sentences of Death, given through the whole *Province*, to be put in execution, in order to which he assigneth the day and the *City*, whither all those that are condemned, shall be brought to him: and there he is presented with a List of their names; then taking his pensill, he marketh six or seaven of them, (for if he prick more they count him cruel) these are presently carried to execution, and the rest returned to the prissons whence they came. It belongeth also to him to visit the *Wals*, *Caffles*, and publick places &c. He feteth forth with a great traine and pomp, having banners carried before him and other Ensigns of Rigour and Majestie. This is usually every year.

There is another extraordinarie Officer of the same name. He is created from time to time at the Queens request: he hath great power and authoritie, but it is only in favour of Piety and Mercy: he visiteth all the Prissons of the *Province*, and freeth all such as are imprisoned for light faults, and that have no prosecutors, and all those miserable wretches, that have no meanes to free themselves: he taketh into protection such causes as have been rejected, and parties that could obtaine no favour: he revoketh such sentences, as have been unjustly given: he maketh himselfe *Proteector* of the poore, and in a word, his whole authoritie is employed about works of mercy.

The *Third Office* is the *Treasurer*, who is superintendent of the *Kings Patrimonie* through the whole *Province*. He is subordinate to the Council of the *Patrimonie* at Court. He hath two *Affiliants*, one of the right hand, and the other of the left: each of these have their house and *Tribunal* within the circuit of the *Treasurers Palace*. He hath under him 26 lesser *Mandarines*, that have severall charges and employments, besides other Officers great and small, of which sort there are very many belonging to this *Tribunal*.

To him it belongeth to overlooke the customes, excise, and other duties appertaining to the King, of what kind soever: to regulate all weights and measures, all suites, controversies, punishments and sentences appertaining to the *Kings Patrimonie*, or at least to remit them to what *Tribunal* he pleaueth: to pay the ordinary salaries, to all Magistrates, to the Kings kindred, to the Captaines and Souldiers: to provide all expences for the examinations: to furnish and give the badges of honour to all Graduates: to lay out money for the publick works, as Bridges, Highways, *Palaces* of the *Mandarines*, Ships for the *Navy* &c. In a word, he is superintendent of whatsoever is spent or received of the *Kings Revenue*

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Revenue immedately from the Governours, Judges and *Tauli*, each for his own precinct; and though the summe be never so small, they must always be paid in fine Silver, which is afterwards melted by the *Treasurer* into *Ingots*, weighing fifty Crownes a piece, with the Kings stamp and the Founders name upon them, that in case any of them be falsified, they might know whom to accuse; and in this forme they are returned into the Kings Exchequer.

The Revenue of the *Province* is divided into three parts: one whereof is put into the Treasure of the City, for extraordinary expences; the other into the Coffers of the *Treasurer*, for to defray ordinarie expences. This *Treasurie*, beside that the doores and locks are made as secure as can be, yet it is guarded every night by a constant watch of Souldiers. The third is sent publickely to Court, but with a strong Guard.

This Silver is put into round pieces of wood, sawed through in the middle and hollowed within, and joyned together with Iron hoops and both ends closed fast with plates of Iron. Within every one of these pieces of wood is conveighed as much Silver as two men are able to carrie. The revenue of the whole Kingdome (according to the supputation of Father *Matteo Riccius*, who lived many yeares in *China*, as appeareth by his book printed in the year 1621) is said to amount to an hundred and fifty Millions of Crownes. Father *John Rodriguez*, who also travailed much about *China*, and was very curious to know the affaires of this Kingdome, in a writing which he left behind him concerning the fourre notable things of *China*, faith, That it doth amount but to fifty five Millions, To make them both agree, my opinion is, that the whole Revenue is a hundred and fifty Millions, as Father *Riccius* said, & that which is brought to Court is but fifty five, as Father *Rodriguez* would have it, the rest remaining, as hath been said, in the *Provinces*. As I have not made any diligent enquiry concerning this matter, so I will forbear to add any thing to the Testimoniie of these grave Personages.

The *Fourth Tribunal* is called *Gan Cha Sci*, and is, as it were, a *Tribunal Criminal*; it hath *Affessours*, *Councillours*, and *Tauli*. And, as every *Province* is divided into Shires, and Precincts, according to the number of the Cities thereof, it belongeth to these *Tauli* to visit them, and to do justice in the severall places assigned them, punishing Malefactours, and exercising their jurisdiction, which extendeth it selfe even to the Souldierie, and the affaires of the Sea, if the Province be maritime.

The *Fifth Tribunall* is over learning and letters, to examine, and confer degrees, and the like, and is particularly set over all them that have taken the degree of *Bachelors*, but *Doctors* are exempt from their *Jurisdiction*. There is a *Chancellour* over the whole *Province*, who, at set times, visiteth all the Cities and Townes, holding examinations, and informing himself of every ones behaviour; and according as he findeth it, he reproveth, chaffiseth, and sometymes depriveth them of their degree, but leaving them alwayes the libertie, as I have said, of returning, (if they please,) to a new examination.

There are moreover in every City two, whom they call *Mandarines* of the Sciences, *Hioquan*; who belong to the same *Tribunall*: but their *Jurisdiction* doth not extend it self further than to the *Bachelors* of the same City,

City, and the territorie thereof. And although they have not the power to conferre a degree, or to take it away, but only to punish them; nevertheless it is they that give them the most trouble, by reason, that living alwayes in the same City, they often call them before them, examine them, &c. They are, as it were, *Prefects of the Classes*.

All these offices whereof I have spoken, have authoritie over the whole *Province*, and over all the Cities, Villages and Townes thereof.

But the Cities have moreover their particular Government, as among us in *Europe*. In every City there are foure principall *Mandarines*, one whereof is President, whom they call *Chi Fu*, and is, as it were, Governor of the City: the rest are *Collateralls*, they are called *Thum Chi*, *Thum Phou*, *Chin Quon*. Every one of these holdeth his *Tribunal* apart, and hath greater and lesser officers belonging to him.

Beside these, every City hath nineteen lesser Magistrates employed in severall Offices subordinate to the principal. Two whereof have a *President* and foure *Councillours*, the nine others have only one *President* and an *Affessour*, and the other eight have only one *President*, but they have all of them their Officers, Ministers, and a convenient number of Servants belonging to their Courts.

The Villages have a Judge and three *Councillours*. The Judge is called *Chi Hien*, The First *Councillour* *Hum Chin*, The Second *Chiw Phu*. The Third *Tan Su*. They have each of them their *Palaces* and *Tribunals* apart, as also their subordinate Officers, Notaries and others. The Judge may give sentence of death, but cannot put it in execution.

Besides these *Mandarines*, which reside in the Cities and Villages, there are others who have not the power either to Chastise or condemn, but only to make their report, and are, as it were, *Referendaries*. There are also of them in Castles, if they be great, and farre from any City or Village: these are made ordinarily out of the inferiour Notaries of *Tribunals*, for out of the great ones are commonly made the *Councillours* to the Judges of Villages.

But it must be obserued, that both the greater and the lesser officers have not so much authoritie, as ours in *Europe*. Besides, every Hamlet (whereof there are almost infinite in *China*, no labourer, or husbandman dwelling either in City or Village, but in the Fields) hath a Head or Tithing-man called *Licham*. The houses are divided by tens, like Tithings or *Dewaries*, with a Head or Tithing-man belonging to each, by which meanes the Government becometh more easie, and the contribution which is exacted, more certaine.

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*Of the Badges of Honour, or Ensignes
of the Mandarines.*

All Officers, who either have, or have had command, have their Ensigns, by which they are distinguished, not only from the people, but from others, as well *Litterati*, as Noblemen of another rank. These consist in five things, that is, the *Cap*, the *Habit*, the *Girdle*, the *Boots*, and the *Gown*. The *Cap* is of black Silk, lined with a certaine stiffe & strong Stiffe. They all of them have it made after the same fashion, only in the *Caps* of the *Co-lai* there is some difference, it is called in the *Chinell* language *Xamao*.

The *Habit*, (for so they call it, and we have nothing in Europe that answereth to it,) is a fquare piece, which they wear on their breast, richly embroidered round about, in the middle wherof is the device of their Office and dignitie; and, as those are diverse, accordingly their devices are different. It is called *Phi Xu*. The *Magistrates* of letters have an *Eagle*, a *Hearn*, a *Bird of the Sunne*, or such like: the *Magistrates* of armes, have a *Panther*, a *Tiger*, an *Unicorn*, a *Lyn* &c.

The *Girdle*, which is not made to Gird them withall, for it is so wide, that they are fain to fasten it at the sides, to keep it from falling, is called *Qnon Thais*; it is four fingers broad, and divided into little squares; it is fastened before (if the *Girdle* be rich) with large Buckles of Gold or Silver: some weare them nine inches broad. There are nine sorts of Buckles, that is, of *Buffalo*, of *Rhinoceros* horne, of *Ivory*, of *Tortoise*-shell, of *Lignum Aquile*, of *Calamba*, of Silver, Gold, and precious stones. Every one may not wear them indifferently according to their Fancies, but suitable to the qualitie of the Office which he beareth. The last *Girdle*, which is of a precious stone, called *Tu Xe*, is given by the King himselfe to the *Colai*, when they enter into their Office, nor is any other suffered to weare it.

The *Boots*, (which they call *Hive*,) are not ordinarie, but of a certaine particular make. They are all black, and turned down.

The *Vest*, or *Gowne*, is worne over their ordinary habit, and is in all, of the same fashion. It is large, loofe, and very becoming. The colour is at their own chioise, but for the most part it is modest: but on Feastival daies it is Crimson.

These are the Ensignes of the *Magistrates*, when ever they appear in publick: for at home they leave them off, and wear only the ordinarie habit of the *Litterati*: and in the same manner they go among their friends to Banquets, and places of recreation, especially in hot weather. Their external Ensignes, when they go abroad, are the *Sedan*, or *Litter*, inhd with Ivory, and richly gilded, all open, without any cover at top, to the end they may be the better seen. There are some of them carried by two men, others by four, others by six, and some by eight, according to the qualitie of the *Mandarine*. When there are six or eight men, only four do carry the *Sedan*, the others go by on each side, and take

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take their turnes. The traine which followeth after them is more or lesse according to the dignitie of the *Magistrate*: those of the greatest Qualitie cause two men to march before them at a great distance, with a round stiffe in the hands of each, of something more than a mans length, only for terror (for the king only may strike with a round stiffe) and all the way they go, they make a cry. Then follow two men bearing two Tablets silvered over, whereon is written in great letters the Title of his dignitie, then come four or six more, trayling after them cudgells made of a great tree called *Bambu*, wherewith they are wont in thos Countries to give the *Bastinado* to Delinquents; then follow others with chaines in their hands, and other instruments of Torture. A little before the *Sedan* there marcheth one with an *Umbrella*, or Sun-screen, and sometimes two; they are made of silke, and are as bigge as three of ours. Close by the *Sedan* on one side, is carried a great gilded fanne, so bigge that a man is hardly able to bear it, with which the Sun is kept off from him, for the *Umbrellas* serve only for shew and *Parade*. Immediately before the *Sedan* is carried the Kings seale in a gilded Coffer, placed upon a *Machine*, (like to that which we use in our Countries, to carry the Images, and Reliques of Saints upon procession) under a cloath of state borne up with four small pillars. This is carried by two men. Behind the *Sedan* follow the Pages, and other people, both on horse and foot.

When he goeth through the street, if there be any thing unseemly at the windowes, as cloathes hanged out a drying, or such like things, presently they are taken in: if they meet with any Beers, or Hearses, such as the dead are carried to buriall withall, they overturne them to the ground: people of Qualitie turne downe some other street to avoyd meeting of them: they that are on horse back alight: they that are carried in chaires are set downe, & the people set themselves in ranke on both sides the way. If it be a great *Mandarine*, the multitude that stand looking upon him, keep a profound silence. In the meane while he sitteth in his chaire with so much gravity and composure of body, that he doth not so much as move his eyes: for to but looke on one side or other would in them be esteemed a notable fault.

When they make their first entrie into any City or Towne, besides the traine which is appoynted to accompany them, all the way they go, and the Souldiers which guard them, through the Townes and Cities where they passe, and the Officers of their owne *Tribunal*, who go many daies journeys off to receive them, and the Souldiers of his owne Government, who go out many miles to meet them, and all the inferiour *Mandarines*, who go out of the City to congratulate them; at the gates of the Towne or City, stand all the old men of that place in great number, with their reverend white beards, who on their knees bid him welcome in the name of the people.

The Mothers and wives of the Officers, as their Sonnes or Husbands are preferred and advanced to higher offices and dignitie, are appoynted by the King certaine honourable distinctions in their habit, as also Titles, whereby they are called; such as are among us, your Honour, and your Excellency; not, that they are the same, but that they have some resem-blance more or lesse.

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When any one of the most Eminent Officers die, the King sendeth a way post a *Mandarine* of the Court to solemnize his funeralls, and this not only to the confines of the Kingdom, but even out of it, as to the Island of *Hainam*, as it happened in the year 1617 at what time I spake with him who was sent hether by the King, only for that purpose.

The King also, after his death, beftoweth the office of a *Mandarine* upon his Sonne, or Nephew : and if the deceas'd person be a *Colas*, he beftoweth the like honour upon all his Sonnes or Nephewes, who, if they ftoweth a good Testimony of their abilitie in their Government, are adavngie yet higher, and come to be Gouvernours of Cityes.

The *Palaces* where they inhabit are large, convenient, and stately, their *Tribunals*, where they do Justice, are magnificently adorned, and attended by great store of Officers. In the City of *Nankim*, beside many others, there are five *Tribunals*, foure of the foure windes, for so they call them, and they are accordingly placed in the City toward the *North*, toward the *South*, &c. The fist is in the middle of the City : yet are they inferiour *Tribunals*, for every one hath a *President* and two *Collaterals*, and the *President* is no more than a *Doctor*, and the two *Collaterals* are either simple *Bachelors*, or else raised from the office of *Notarie*. It is true that in small and ordinary causes, these are the hands and feet of the *Mandarines*, being faithfull and diligent executors of whatsoever they command them. There are in every one of these *Tribunals* more than 300 men, who serve them, as *Notaries*, *Clerks*, and *Serjeants*, some to apprehend men, others to whip them, others to carry letters and writings, and such other Commissions, but they do not serve all at one time, but take their turnes in order.

Now that I have treated of the small *Tribunals*, I will speak of a great one, which is that of the *Vice-roy* of *Cantone*, which, for some cautes, I had occasion to observe very distindly, as also many others. The *Tribunal*, wherein the *Vice-roy* doth Justice, is joyned to the *Palace*, where he hath his residence.

There is first a great square Court, which looketh toward the *South*, without having any gate in the wall right before it, but only two at the two sides thereof. At the foure Corners of this Court there are foure very high Mafts, on the top of each is displayed a white banner, whereon are written two letters so bigge, that they almost take up the whole flagge. The letters are *Kiun Muen*, that is, *Vice-roy*. Within, round about the Court, are Chambers for the *Notaries*, for great and lesser Officers, and many small *Mandarines*, who are to be alwayes ready at the *Vice-roys* beck. In the middle of the Court is a Theater of stone, with steps to ascend to it. There stand drums, flutes fifes and Cornets of Brasse : and before the *Vice-King* giveth audience, all these instruments are sounded with certain pauses or Intervalls. They are sounded three times for some space, and at the end of each, there are three *Bombards*, or old fashion'd Cannon, discharged; at the third and last time the gates are opened, & all they, who have any busynesse with him, are permitted to enter into the first Court.

On the *North* side whereof, which answereith to the front, where there is no Gate, there is a great *Portal*, which leadeth into another quadrangular

lar Court, which is longer than it is broad. This *Portal* hath three gates in it, after the fashions of our churches: that in the middle is the biggest, the other two are lesser: each of these gates openeth upon an entry, which is raised three or four palmes from the ground, and is seaven or eight palmes broad, but that in the middle is larger. At each entry stand two ranks of Souldiers with their armes in their hands: through the middle of whom thoe that have busynesse are to passe, entring at the left gate, and coming out at the right; for at the middle gate, none either go in or come out, but the *Vice-roy*, and they that visit or accompany him. At the end of this Court is the place of the *Vice-roy*, which hath neither Hall, nor Gallery, but is a kind of building, that paticipateth of both. It is like a Hall for its forme, and like a Gallery, in that it hath no doore, but lyeth all open. In it standeth a small Table covered with a Carpet of filke, wherupon lyeth the Kings feale, with red and black ink by it, and stones for to grind it small, and pensills for to write withall; but above all, there is the Cale of the *Chen Cr*, that is, Little Tallies of wood, each of which imporeth five lases: so that when the *Vice-roy* throweth downe two of them, in the languages of Justice, it signifieth Ten lashes; if he throweth downe six, Thirty, and so of the rest. Neere unto the seat of the *Vice-roy* on each hand stand twelve Captaines richly cloathed, with their *Morions* on their heads, and their Scimitars by their sides. Behinde, stand two Pages with fannes in their hands to make winde, in case the weather be hot; but in winter they do not use them. All *Tribunals* are not of this forme; although there are many things common to them all, and the rest is proportionable to the dignity of the *Mandarines* who hold them.

Of the prisons, sentences and punishments of the Chinelses.

Their prisons for Malefactours are more commodious and spacious than ours. They are all throughout the Kingdom, of the same forme, with very little difference; to that by treating of one, we shall give a description of them all. They are for the most part either joyned, or not farre distant from the *Palaces* and *Tribunals* of the *Mandarines*, to which they belong. They have no grates towards the street; but within the outward gate there is a narrow entry, which leadeth to a seconde gate, within which is a Court, which is alwaies bigger or lesser according to the receipt and concourse of the prison. Then followeth a third gate, where the lodgings of the keepers and warders are, who are commonly three; beyond that is another gate, which openeth into a great square Court, along the foure sides whereof are the chambers of the prisoners, which have no walls towards the Court, but in stead thereof, Columnes of wood placed so neare together, that they rather seeme to be grates. The doores are not made of board, but of grates of the same wood, so that all is open to the ayre:

ayre these Lodges or Chambers, are the Prisons of the ordinary Prisoners. At the end of one of these rows of chambers, standeth the secret, or close Prison, for such as are committed for crimes of a higher nature. This they call *Chum Kien*, that is, the heavy Prison: so that having passed through the common Prison, there are other grates made in the like manner as the first, within which are the close Prisons, where the most criminal Persons are, who are always kept locked up: the other Prisons are opened every day, and the Prisoners have liberty to go from one chamber to another, and to converse together in the Base-Courts.

Every evening there is a view taken of the Prisoners, causing them all, for this purpose, to come into the outward Court, and one of the warders with a rod in his hand calleth them over one by one: each man as he is called, goeth into his prison, where he is locked up for that night.

Those of the close Prison, although they go not out of it, (which happeneth only to those, who have no money, for if they have wherewithall to fee the Gaolers, they go out when they will, and are lodged where they please,) Yet are they all day at libertie in their Prison: but at night they are secured in this manner: They sleep at night upon planks, at the lower end whereof, where their feet lie, there is a great piece of Timber laid athwart, which hath store of holes in it, wherein their feet are put, and so locked up: on their hands they put manacles: on the side of each are two Iron rings fastened into the Boards, through which is passed an Iron Chaine of a good bignesse, and is carried over their breasts from the right side to the left, so that if this Chaine be freighted a little (which is at the courtesy of the Keepers) the poor Prisoner is not able to turne himself, having not only his hands and feet, but his whole body bound. This is the caution which they use for the night.

In the middle of the Court where the aforesaid chambers are, there is, as it were, a little corps d'e gard, where there are four who keep watch by turns. If there happen any noise, or stir, in the Prisons, or any thing which giveth suspition, although it be only the going out of the light, which is to bee kept burning all night long, presently they give notice thereof to the Gaolers, who immediately come in hast to take care of it.

They are visited every moneth by one of those *Mandarins*, who have the care of the Prisons committed to them. Assoon as he hath taken his seat in the outward Court, he causeth to be brought before him all those who have been condemned to die. Those wretches present themselves before him with their haire hanging down and uncombed, a sickly countenance, their head hanging on one side, & almost falling off; but assoon as they are remanded to the prison, and have lost the sight of the *Mandarine*, they begin to skip, and are as sound as a fish. The reason of this dissimulation is, because if the *Mandarine* find them fat and in good liking, he causeth them to be bastinadoed, which they call *T'a Foisi*, that is, to fall upon the fat ones; saying, that they keep them there, to do penance, to grow leane and die, and not to make good cheere. The other Prisoners also are brought before him one by one, and the *Mandarine* enquireth of the Gaolers, how they behave themselves, and accordingly he dispenseth his

his *Bastinades*, to those that are troublesome, unquiet and *Gamblers*.

After that, he visiteth the chambers of the Prisoners, where he suffereth them to have no manner of convenience, if he find either, Seats, Tables, Beds, or such like things, he causeth them presently to be taken away; for they will not have their Prisons to be as ours are, for the securing only of their Persons, but also to punish their bodies.

They who are committed to prison, are not only subject to the imprisonment, but also to many contributions and payments. The *Mandarines* have a tablet done over with a white varnish, whereon is written the name and crime of the person apprehended, this is given to the officer, who having received it, carrieth him away presently to Prison, and maketh him pay for his journey, which fee they call *Tablet-money*. When he entreth the second gate, commeth the Notarie Generall of the Prisoners, who is commonly one of them himself: he hath his Seate and Table (which is only that whereon the Prisoners eat) he asketh him his name and the cause of his imprisonment, which he presently enrolleth in the book of Prisoners, making him pay for the honour which he receiveth in having his name entered. Next after that, he is delivered to the Gaolers and overseers of the severall chambers, or to some one of them, and if the Prisoners are many, they begin to distribute them to one another: if it be one man only, they bid him go to the chambers of the North, or of the South &c, and presently the overseer of that is to be paid his fee. Assoon as he is come to his quarter, there cometh to him another little scribe, whose office is only to take his name, and to write it in the particular Table of that ward, which alwaies hangeth up there, and here he is to pay another fee for this writing. After that cometh another, who is the sweeper of the Prison, and telleteth him, Sir, Cleanlineſſe is very necessary here, this place is to be ſwept and kept cleane, your ſire to be made &c. all which cannot be done without opening the purſe. In the mean while cometh one of the Prisoners with a pair of Iron Manacles, the ſtrightest he can find, which he putteth on upon him: about halfe an houre after he cometh again with another wider paire, and telleteth him, Brother, I know thofe Manacles are very freight and painfull, I wil therefore change them for theſe wider, if you wil pay me for the courteſie, & if he hath no money to give him, he taketh his Cap, or elſe ſome part of his cloaths. Theſe are the small charges, with which the poor Prisoners purſe is drained.

Then follow the Gaolers, who being to receive a greater fee, allow him longer time: for two daies after his imprisonment they let him alone, to ſee what he will give of his own accord, and if in that time he preſent them not with ſomething, for every night after, till they are ſatisfied they give him trouble and torment enough. This payment is not limited, but is at the diſcretion of the Gaolers, who endeavour to draw from every one as much as they can, that is, a great ſumme from thoſe who are rich, leſſe from the poor, and from thoſe that have nothing, they take nothing.

This duty is no sooner ſatisfied, but the laſt Rights muſt be paid, that is for the ſacrifices of the Idol, or *Pagod* of the Prison, for in evey one of them there is a Chappel or two, where every month the Gaolers

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lers offer Sacrifice on the first and fifteenth day of the Moon, which consisteth commonly of a Cock, a piece of Pork, two Fishes, Bread, Fruit, and other things. These they seeth a little in water, and the Cock is to be boyled no more than that he may be made to stand upright upon a Table which is placed before the *Paged*, where the other things are set in handsome order about him, and after it hath stood there an hour, they come and take it away, and dresse the Fish and Flesh anew, seasoning it very well, and then they make a *Banquet*.

The new Prisoners must contribute to furnish this expence; they, who are admitted after this Sacrifice, till the next, which is fifteen daies after, furnisheth the expences of the next Sacrifice; and they that come after that, of the next, and then they are freed from paying.

These Chappells dedicated to the *Idols*, do not only serve the Prisoners to make their Sacrifices there, but also for other more common uses; that is, for the Prisoners to make their vows, to draw lots, although many times with an unfortunate event, for having libertie and a happy deliverance promised them by the lot, they receive afterward at the *Tribunals Bafinados* and torments.

I was one day present when a poor heathen drew his lot, kneeling on his knees with much devotion, and because he could not read, he called another to instruct him out of the little book, which is kept for that purpose in the Chappells: having drawn his lot, saith this poor man, well, what have I got? Shall I be tormented at the *Tribunall*? The other reading over the leafe cryed out, Be of good courage, all is well, you have a good lot. Shall I not have the *Rack* given me, replied the poor wretch? Which was a kind of torment which he was much afraid of. Fear not, answered the Interpreter, you shall have no harme. That very morning this poor *Gentile* was brought to his Tryall, who in truth was innocent, the fact, for which he was committed, being done by his brother, who had received stolen goods into his house, and knowing that he was discovered, fled away, and so this poor wretch was apprehended in his stead. When he was examined, the *Mandarine*, not satisfied with his answers, commanded he should have the *Rack* given him. He being loath to be carried away, made what resistance he could, so that they were faine to drag him by main force, and being a strong sturdy young man, defended himselfe with so much courage and violence, that ten or twelve men were not able to rule him, but tumbling up and downe from one side to another, and catching hold of whatsoever he came neer, he hit by chance against the *Mandarines* Table, and overturn'd it to the ground with all that was upon it, by which accident he did so anger the Judge, and enrage the Serjeants against him, that when they had seised him, they gave him the *Rack* in so cruel a manner, that they were faine to send him back to Prison upon other mens Shoulders, having his heel-bones out of joynt. The next day, when his pain was something mitigated, and he more capable of reason, I went to visit him, much compassionating his sufferings, he related to me all particulars of the storie, and I began to touch upon that point of the lots and their interpretation, saying unto him, what hath your *Idol* done for you? The Devil, said he, sake the *Idol* and his lots, for they are all such

as he is; and some other words, which are not proper to be related here.

The Prisoners do passe the summer well enough, but in winter, as the cold is very great, and the sustenance of many very little, they must needs suffer much: and although the *Mandarines*, for the good of the poor Prisoners, do often commute Corporal punishments into *Pecuniary Multis*; yet when this is done, there is not enough for all. Thieves, when they are taken, are generally abandoned of their friends and kindred, neither is there any, who will own them, and so, many of them perish miserably. I have often seen six or seven dead bodies thrown out at a time.

... They have an notable *Superstition* concerning the dead, which is, that they will not suffer the Body when it is dead, to be carried out at that Gate whereat it entred when it was living. And to take away this difficultie, in the outward Court, whereof we have spoken, there is a little doore, or hole in the wall, where they are thrown out; if it be a person of qualitie, there is always leave obtained for him to go out of Prison before he dieth, that he might not have his Carcasse thrown out at that hole, accounting it the most shamefull disgrace that can befall them. Hence one of the most horrible imprecations and curses that is used in that Kingdome is, *La Laoti*, that is, *misst thou be drag through the hole of a Prison*.

The Prisons, having no grate on the outside of them, they, who would visit or speak with any Prisoner, must of necessitie enter into the Prison; and there is this inviolable custome among them, that none is to visit a Prisoner without bringing him something to eat, more or lesse according to his ability, and if by accident he bringeth nothing, he maketh his excuse for having, broken a custome so generally received. But perhaps some will ask me how I came to be so expert in these pointis? Truly I must answer him in a word, that though this knowledge be not much worth, yet it cost me very deare.

Their trials differ very little from ours, but only that the delaiers and the replies are not so many: every thing is done by way of *Petitions* or *Memorials*; and in these every one is allowed to say what he can for himself. There are some who get their living only by drawing up such writings as these for Prisoners; but we do not admit them to the Sacrament of Baptism, unless they leave this employment: for they tel so many lies in them, that the *Mandarines* had need of a great deal of experience, and discretion to find out any truth amongst so many falsehoods: but somtimes, when they are taken in them, they are well paid for them in *Bafinados*.

The *Viceroy* of *Nankim*, who was a great friend to our Fathers, and, though a heathen, was well affected to the Christian religion, and well acquainted with the doctrine of it, told me one day this storie. As I was giving audience, said he, at my *Tribunall*, and hearing of caules, there was one, who among others, presented me a *Memoriall*, I tooke it and read it, and found it full of nothing but revilings and Slanders against the *Christian Religion*, and the *Christian Chineſes* of that City, speaking sufficiently ill of both. I asked him then, Do you understand this law, and do you know this people? Yes Sir, answered he. It is an upstart, perverse, strange law, &c. Speaking yet more evill of it than he had written in his *Memoriall*. I presently put my hand to my *Tallyes*, and flung out six, the

Officers presently gave him thirty *Bastinadoes* (and those which are given at these *Tribunals*, are commonly well set on) assoone as he had gotten up upon his legges, and had a little composed himselfe, I told him, that I saw his petition was not well enough digested for a businesse of so great moment, and bid him go and consider better of it, and more diligently informe himselfe, and to come and give me an account of it ; but from that day to this I never heard more of him.

The petition is presented by the party, or by some other in his name, after this manner. The Court, before the *Tribunal*, is commonly full of people that have suites there, but there is an entry in the middle of them, which leadeth directly to the *Mandarines* seat that is alwaies kept empty, and free to passe through. He that hath a petition to present, when his time cometh, kneeleth on his knees in that passage, having his petition in his hand lifted up as high as his head. Then the *Mandarine* sendeth one to take it, and if he hath any question to aske him, he asketh it; then if he accepteth the petition, he foldeth it, and layeth it on the Table; if not, he prelenty throweth it away ; and if he judgeth the petition to be impertinent, he appoynteth a certaine number of *Bastinadoes*, to be bestowed on the petitioner, as hath been already said : and many times for no other reason, but because the Judge is in ill humour, although he that presenteth the petition is not the party whom it doth concerne. I saw the like case happen to a *Bonzo*, (for they also are subject to the secular power) for no other reason, but that the *Mandarine* was peevish.

The *Bonzo* used the ordinary *Ceremony* with his petition : his acceptance was, that the *Mandarine* presently turned towards the Table, and cast downe two *Tallies* of wood, which was no sooner done, but presently there were two men, that tooke the *Bonzo*, one by the head, and the other by the heelles, and throwing him downe to the ground, stripped downe his drawers to his very feete, and bestowed ten *Bastinadoes* upon him, with so much dexteritie, that the businesse was done before any was aware of it.

Their condemnations are for the most part pecuniary, and sometimes, though seldome, they are sent into banishment, or to the Gallics, or rather someting equivalent to it. For to speake the truth, they have not that punishment, but one very like it; that is, they are put to worke on the rivers, in the Kings ships and vessells, they tugge at the oare, and do other services, being bound two together in one chaine.

They only are condemned to death, (which is commonly executed by hanging, strangling, or cutting off the head,) who falsifie the Kings mony, or commit murder : if there be many guilty of the same crime, one man only is executed, the rest have other punishments inflicted on them : but robbers by the high-waies are all to die, if the fact be sufficiently proved. Lesser theives for the first fault, if the theft be of small value, are *Bastinadoed*, and imprisoned for a certayne time. If they be taken a second time, they have the same punishment with some advantage; or else they have these two letters *Za Tao* imprinted on the outside of their arme, both which do signifie *Thife*. These two letters are neatly carved on a piece of wood, and being rubbed over with inke, they do make the impression

of

of them on their flesh, and then with another piece of wood, whereto are foure needles conveniently placed, they do prick holes in that part of their flesh which is coloured with inke, and when the bloud cometh, they rub it with their hands, to give entrance to the inke ; and by that means the impression remaineth for ever. Adulterers are severely punished, although not with death, and besides other chaitflementis they are sufficiantly loaden with *Bastinadoes*. The women also taken in the same fault, if they have been formerly of honest repite, are whipt or *Bastinadoed*, with their drawers or *Calzones* pulled downe to their heelles, to make them the more ashamed, and sometimes also they are whipt in the publick streets : but, if they have formerly lost both their shame and their honour, they beat them only upon their *Calzones*.

They do many times dit of the *Bastinadoes* they receive, especially if the delinquent deserve death, and they have a minde to dispatch him; for it is impossible a man shoulde live, after he hath received seventy or eighty *Bastinadoes*, especially as they are laid on, when it is before a great *Tribunal*. In the year 1617 there was in the City of *Nankim* a kinde of *Confaternitie*, or society of fifty men, called by them *Thien Cam*. These according to an agreement made among themselves, did alwaies assist one another : an injury resented by one, was vindicated by all, and by this meanes they committed a thousand insolencies : at length they were almost all apprehended, & distributed to the severall prisons of the City, where there are at least fourteen or fifteen : at their very first entrance, they putt about the neck of each a *Kian Hao* (of which we will speake hereafter) so heavie, that it was impossible for him that bore it, to stirre out of his place ; and when any of them was to be brought out, he was forced to have two men to help him to carry it. They were brought to a triall before the Government of the City, who caused them to receive threescore and ten blowes a man, whereof they all dyed.

For ordinary crimes they inflict a certain punishment, that is not in use among us in *Portugall*; they call it *Kian Hao*. It is a great thick board, four or five Palmes square, with a hole cut in the middle of it about the bignesse of a mans neck. This they fasten about their necks, and to it are hung two scrolls of paper of a hands breadth, wherein are written his fault, and the cause of his punishment ; they serve also to shew that the board hath not been opened : and so with these great boards about their necks, these poore wretches are brought out every day, and exposed to shame in the publick streets, for fifteen, twenty, or thirty days, according as they are adjudged by their sentence, whose greatest rigour is, that during all that time these boards are not taken off their necks, neither night nor day. And all this must be understood to be done after they have received their *Bastinadoes*, which are never wanting, there being no condemnation in *China*, (unless it be pecuniary,) without this previous disposition : neither is it necessary to make mention of it in their condemnation, this being alwaies understood to be their first dith, and as a necessary, though accessary circumstance ; and then followeth their sentence, as the principall verb. And the truth is, that, as the *Giapponeſſes* are wont to say, they cannot Governe without the *Catana*, that is, the Scimitar or *Sword*,

Sword ; so it may be said of the *Chineſes*, that without *Bambu*, that is, the cudgell or *Bafion*, with which they ſue to beat men, it is not poſſible they ſhould be ruled. For the better understanding of this, I will briefly declare the uſe of it.

In every *Tribunall of China*, when the *Mandarine* giveth audience, there ſtand neare unto his Table ten or twelve men on both ſides thereof, with long *Cudgells* in their hands, reſted upon the ground (and ſometimes for the greater terror, they will place fourty men about them, as they did, when the fathers were brought before them for their Religion.) These *Cudgells* are ſeven palms long, being at the bottom about hands breadth in circumference, tapering ſtil towards the top, where they are ſmall and ſlender, that they might more conveniently be uſed with both hands. They are made of *Bambu*, which hath ſome reſemblance to *Cane*, in that it is knotty and hollow within, but is diſtinct in this, that it is a maffie, ſtrong, heavie, hard wood.

Moreover, on the Table of the *Mandarine* ſtandeth that caſe of wooden *Tallyes*, whereof we have ſpoken, and every *Tally* importeth five blowes; wherefore when the *Mandarine* would have any one *Bafinadoed*, he throweth downe as many *Tallyes*, as make up the number of the blowes he would have given. Every one of the *Upi* (as the *Portugueſes* call them who carry the *Bafions*) is ready to take his *Tally*, others to ſieze the patient, and to lay him on the ground. Aſſoone as his breeches are pulled downe, preſently one of the *Upi* layeth five *Bafinadoes* upon his naked flesh, according to the import of his *Tally*, and withdraweth himſelfe. Then cometh another, and layeth on other five, and ſo it is alwayes done by a fresh hand, till he hath received the number aſigned him : when the *Mandarine* throweth the *Tallyes* out of the caſe, he is not to give any reaſon for it, neither muſt he be asked, but his commands are preſently put in execution, and only in ſome ſmaller offences the patient may obtain with his money, that the blowes be not altogether ſo fierce and cruel.

This is to be understood, when the *Mandarine* ſitteth on his *Tribunal*, for in no other place he maketh uſe of thoſe *Tallyes*, although he alwayes waited on with thoſe *Cudgells*; and by reaſon the uſe of them is foquent, they alwayes accompany the *Mandarine*, who maketh uſe of them in any place, and upon any occaſion. It were a ſufficient cauſe if any one that met him on horſe-back did not alight, or that he croſſed his way, which becauſe it is a ſlight fault, is chaffiſed only with five or ten blowes. And the *Mandarine* hath this power, not only in the Townes and Cities of his owne *Jurisdiction*, but also in any place whatſoever, though it be not properly under his *Authority*.

Before I left the City of *Nankim*, (the *Metropolis* of the Province of *Kiamſi*, where we have a Church, a houſe, and a good number of Chriſti-ans,) there came thither a *Mandarine*, who was Judge of one of the neigbouring Townes, and paſſed through our ſtreet, which is one of the moſt frequented of that City. There was, in a remote corner thereof, a fortune-teller, one of thoſe, who uſed to tell good fortunes to the people, ſitting in his chaire, with his Table, books, and other things before him. The

Mandarine

Mandarine paſſed once up, and another time downe the ſtreet, and the *Suor Mim* (for ſo they call theſe *Diuiners*) never moved himſelfe off his chaire, either the firſt or the ſecond time. After a few houres the *Mandarine* had occaſion to paſſe through the ſame ſtreet againe, and coming to a little *Piazza*, in a corner whereof this unhappy fortune-teller had his ſeat, the *Mandarine* called ou to him, ſaying, you make no diſference of men, neither do you doe your Courteſie to the Kings *Maydaries*: take him away, and give him what he deſerveth; preſently in the ſtreet, before his owne ſeat, they gave him ten *Bafinadoes*. Go your waies now ſaid the *Mandarine*, and learn manners, and ſtudy better that art of yours, ſince you have not been able to foreſee this good fortune, that hath befallen you: with ſo much facility do they beſtow their *Bafinadoes*; neither do men make any account of them, althoſe they alwaies pay them in ready coyn; all do give them, all receive them, and all haue felt them, neither doth it ſeme ſtrange to any one, nor do they hold himſelfe aggrieved for them. In the ſame manner do Lords and Maſters chaffiſe their keruants, except only, that for the moſt part they do not take downe their breeches. The like do Schoole-Maſters uſe in their Schooles to their Scholars, of what quality foever they be; beating them on the buttocks with their breeches on, and laying them not upon the ground, but upon a forme. The fame alſo do they uſe to little children, for they haue neither whips nor disciplines, but rather abhorre them; wonding how we can chaffiſe our children with a whip, which they apprehend to be a very cruell thing; and the children themſelves, because the whip ſmarthet more, and tis ſtruck upon their naked ſkin, do rather chooſe the *Bambu*. And that you might want nothing, there are in *Chins* certain perſons, who do buy theſe *Bafinadoes* at the *Tribunals*; or (to ſpeak more correctly,) do ſell the receiuing of them in ſtead of others. But this is only in ſome ſlight cauſes, for in others they neither may nor will. But when the cauſe is ſuch that this may be done, he agreeth with the party for ſo much a *Bafinado*, and apereath before the *Mandarine* in the place of the delinquent, and receiueth them for him.

The *Rack* is uſed alſo in certain neceſſary caſes. I do not know that they haue above two kindeſ of it. That of the feet, and that of the hands. For the feet they uſe an iſtrument called *Kia Quen*, it conſiſteth of three pieces of wood put in one Traverſe, that in the middle is fixt, the other two are mooveable, between theſe their feet are put, where they are ſqueezed and preſt, till the heel-e-bone run into the foot: for the hands they uſe alſo certain ſmall pieces of wood between their fingers, they call them *Tean Zu*, then they ſtraighten them very hard, and feale them round about with paper, and ſo they haue them for ſome ſpace of time.

*Of some particular things, which do
facilitate and rectifie the Go-
vernment in China.*

THE First is, that the King doth bear the charges of his Officers, furnishing them with all manner of expences, by this means, taking from them all occasions, which might, through their necessities either engage them to severall Persons, or runne them much into debt, obliging them by the same means more strictly to obserue the lawes, and to walk more directly in the paths of justice.

After that a *Douleur*, or *Licentiate*, or any other hath an employmēt bestowed upon him at Court, and departeth thence to go to his *Gouvernement*, all the expences of his person, Servants and Familiē, as well in tra-velling by water as by land, including the hire of Boats, Carts, Horses, Porters, and other things, are all defrayed by the King.

Throughout their whole journey they never lodge at Innes, but in all the Townes and Cities, there are *Palaces* appointed for to entertain them, where all things fitting are provided for them. They alwayes send a man before as an harbenger, so that by that timethey arrive, all things are in order for their reception. And if it fall out, as sometimes it doth, that they cannot reach to a good Town, there are in certain places, houses built for this purpose by the King, which they call *Yeli*, where every thing is provided for them. The worst is, that because it is all at the Kings charges it is done more profusely and lavishly than is requisite: as for example, when the *Mandarine* hath occasion for ten horses to carry his familie, they require fifteen or twenty; and there is likewise provision made for so many through the whole journey, and the greatest part of them receive this in money.

Neither doth the matter stop here, but goeth yet further. There being some, who have not so much care of their credit and reputation, as of their purse; and when they are to have so many dishes, and so many severall sorts of meat, according to the Kings appointment, they give order, that the provisōn should be lesse and receive the rest in money, nevertheless there are but few who dare be guilty of such basenesse.

Neither doth the King only furnish the expence of their persons, but that also, which is requisite to sustaine the honour and dignitie of their places, as men on horse back, and on foot to accompany them from Town to Town through all places where they are to passe.

The Second is, that in the places where their Governments are, he provideth them *Palaces* for their habitation, in case they have none of their own, as also rich Furniture and moveables, and all manner of Servants within doors, and without doors even to the pages, who are never so few, but that he alloweth eight or ten of them to a Judge of the smalllest Town;

Town; yet they do not waite all at one time, unlesse it be when the *Mandarine* giveth a particular command for it.

The Third is, that the *Mandarines*, in treating with the subjects, are very warie and circumspect, never discoursing nor treating in secret with any, but alwayes publickly, so that every one may be witness to what they say. Their *Places* are alwayes kept shut within & without. After they have given audience (which they do constantly every day, & many times both morning and evening, for there is alwayes somerling to do) they retire, and the *Palace* is shut within, for the *Mandarines*, and without, for the Officers. And although the gates are opened as often as he hath a mind to go abroad, yet it is never done secretly, but one beateth a drumme within, to whom another answereth without, and presently the Officers and other people, who are to accompany him, come together, assoon as they are all assembled, the gates of the *Palace* are opened, & the *Mandarine* cometh out.

The Fourth is, that no person of their house, whether they be Sonnes, Cousins, or Servants that dwell with them, may go out to visit, converse, or treat of any businesse, for fear least they should receive any bribe or present. The *Pouveyeur*, or *Caterour*, dwelleth without, and is of the same *Tribunall*, as well as the rest of the Officers, and hath every day given him in writing, what he is to buy. And because it is not convenient that the gates of the *Palace* should be opened upon every small occasion, they have all turning wheeles, by which they receive in, and send out, whatsoever there is occasion for.

The Fifth is, that they govern only three years in one place, by which means they are prevented from establishing themselves too strongly, and from contracting any streight alliances or friendships. None governeth in his own Countrie, except the Captains, who are prelumed, when there is occasion, will defend and preserve their own Countrie, with greater affections and endeavours than strangers.

The Sixth is, that among the *Mandarines*, there is a great subordination of some to others. The inferiours with all reverence and obedience, respect their *Superiours*, and also visit them courteously, and at certain set times do make them presents.

The Seventh is, that there is a strict watch kept over the Government. For besides the *Tauli* and *Quali*, whose office it is to inform themselves of whatsoever passeth, and accordingly to give advice thereto of the King, every Province hath a *Visitor*, not for many years, but a new one every year, to the end he might do his Office more exactly, and that he might either chastise, or give notice to the King of such as do not comply with their duty, according to their obligation.

The Eighth is, that every three years there is a general visitation held upon all the *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, partly by meanes of the information of the *Visitors*, and partly by private inquisition, and it is held the same year, wherein, from all parts of the Kingdome, the *Mandarines* go to render obedience to the King in *Pekim*, and so the execution of this review is done at the Court it self by chastising some, abasing others, and taking their offices away. The principall caules for which they are punished, are these following.

The First if they sell justice, by receiving bribes, these lose their Offices, and are sent home to their houses.

The Second is, if they be rigorous and cruel, punishing men beyond all humanity, these lose both their Office and honour, and are put into the rank of the common people.

The Third is, if they be negligent or careless in their government, they lose their Office, but retain still the Ensigns of their dignitie.

The Fourth is, if they be hasty and precipitate, and not deliberate enough in giving their judgment, these are abased to lower Offices, as from a Governoour to a Judge, and the like.

The Fifth is, if they be too young, and their Actions light and *Juvenile*, these are likewise degraded, and employed in lower charges.

The sixth, if they be old, and have not strength to undergo the paines requisite in their audiences, and other services of the King, they give them their *Quiescece* or rest, and send them to take their ease at their own houses. And although this be not a fault, but only a failing of nature, yet it is the worst of all, because they, not being able to remedie the incommodesities of their old age, this defect stil encræfeth upon them by time, and they are by consequence made incapable of returne to their Offices.

The Seventh is, if they be careless in the conduct and government of their house and Familiie, whither it be that, where they actually dwell, or that which is in their own Country, which is governed also by their order, to which, both their servants, kindred and sonnes, do yeeld an exact obedience (which is not hard for them to obtain, by reason of their great authority) these likewise lose their Office.

The Ninth thing, which much facilitateth good government, is, that the Kings will hear the *Mandarines* speak, although it be in a busynesse that is displeasing to them; and the *Mandarines* will freely speak to them, although it be with some hazard to themselves; so that both the one and the other are much to be admired. In the *Mandarines*, their liberty in advising, And in the Kings, their facility in hearing. In the *Mandarines*, their zeale to justice and good government. And in the Kings, their sinceritie and desire to settle and establish it. They have many examples of this in their Historie, and I am willing to set down two or three of them.

From a certain *Province*, there was sent unto the King, a damsell of a rare beautie, and incomparable features. Now his predecessour had beene formerly intrugued and engaged in the like occasion, & very great damages had resulfted thereby unto the Kingdome (for such like perfons are seldoome causes of much good) and the same inconveniences were feared at present. A *Colao* undertook the busynesse, and resolued to speake to the King about it: he was admitted, and speake with so much efficacy and perwasion that the King told him, that assoon as she was brought to the *Palace*, she should be dismissed and sent away. Sir, replied the *Mandarine*, your Majestie wold do well to command her to be sent away suddenly, immediatly, for if she once enter into your house, and that you have seen her, and heard her speake, your hands will tremble, for women have the power to enchant without witch-craft: neither will I go out at one gate of the *Palace*, till she be first sent away at another. The which was accordingly put in execution.

There

There was a King so taken with the love of Birds, that he caused the most curious and beautifull Birds to be sought for through the woods of the whole Kingdome: and as the Kings will is like the *primum mobile*, in giving motion to the hands of his subjects, this search was put in execution with great labour and oppression of the people, especially of one Province, where this chase was continually made by many, insomuch that the husbandmen could not attend their *Ploughing* and *Sowing*: so that by this means they came to suffer great want. It happened that a *Mandarine* passed through that Province, as he came from another, who had more zeale and compassion for them, than they who governed there. Assoon as he was come to Court he presented a *Memorial* to the King, wherein he did so lively set forth the small importance of that chace, and the great trouble and disturbance which it caused to the people, that the King, not only bounded his curiofity, and commanded they shold desist from taking any more Birds; but also gave libertie to those, which were already taken, commanding the doors of the *Avaries* and *Cages* to be set open, that they might fly away.

In the City of *Pekim*, in the *Palace* of one of the Kings daughters, whom they call *Cum Chu*, there was one of her Servants, who was very insolent, having committed many high crimes, and one among the rest, which deserved death: the *Mandarines* much desired to apprehend him, but in the Palace they could not, and he never went abroad, but when he wayted on his *Princesse*. At length there was a *Mandarine*, who resolued to take him by any meanes he could, and to this effect, when the *Princesse* went next abroad, he with his men set himself before the coaches, and made them stop, and then presently laid hands on that man, and carried him away. The *Princesse*, relenting the afront that was done her, returned presently to the *Palace* full of indignation, and was so transported with colar, that she would not stay till the King came back from the audience, where he then was, but went thither her self in person to complain. The *Mandarine* was presently sent for, who had put himself in a readines, well imagining he should be called: he presenteth himself before the King, who sharply reproved him. He answered him, Sir, I have done nothing but that which your Majestie commandeth, & the law ordaineth. But you ought, replied the King, to have sought some other time and opportunity. I have sought it long enough, answered the *Mandarine*, but I should never have found it. At least, replied the King, ask my daughter pardon, and bow your head. Where there is no fault, answered the other, there is no need of pardon, neither will I ask pardon for having discharged my Office. Then the King commanded two *Mandarines*, that by force they should bow his head down to the ground: but he by strength kept himself up so stiffe, that it was not possible for them to do it; so that the King was constrained to send him away. A few daies after the King gave order, that he shold have a better Office bestowed upon him, being much satisfied with his integrity. I forbear to relate many like cases, which I might bring in confirmation of this.

The *Tenth* is the strickt watch and ward, which is kept in the Cities, Townes and Villages; in every street there is placed a man, and if it be

long, two or more; who are appointed to take care of any disorders that may arise there. In every street likewise there is a kinde of prison called *Lemphi*, that is, *the cold shop*, where upon a sudden occasion they may imprison a delinquent, untill notice be given thereof to some Magistrate.

The Eleventh is, that every night infallibly all the gates of the City are shut up as we have already said. The streets also are shut up with grates made for that purpose: But the streets are not alwaies shut up, nor in all parts of the City, but only in some, and that upon some certain occasions and occurrences.

The Twelfth is, that persons of honour and authority do bear great respect one to another, and it would be accounted a great disgrace for any of them to quarrell with another openly. Hence it happeneth, that although many times they have occasion of disgust and hatred, yet outwardly they alwaies observe their *Desorum*; neither do they, upon this account, avoyd any meetings that they might not come together.

The Thirteenth is, that none do bear arms except the Souldiers, and they only at their musters, or when they do accompany the *Mandarines*. The common people, who contrariwise do easily quarrel one with another, do make use only of their *fists*, and he that catcheth the other first by the haire gaineth the battell; nay, if they have any thing in their hands, that might draw blood, as a stafe, a piece of wood or iron, or such like thing, presently they lay it downe, and go to it with their *fists*.

The Fourteenth is, that the whores and curtezans, who are many times the causes of great disorders, do lodge without the walls, neither is any of them suffered to dwell within. They have no particular houses, but many of them live together with a man, who hath the care and government of them, and is obliged to give an account of any disorder that falleth out in their lodgings.

The Fifteenth is, that they forbid all commerce with strangers within the Kingdom, least they might infect them with new customes and manners, and disturbance their ancient way of government, which is a law, that was in part observed also by the *Lacedemonians*, upon the very same motiue. Yet they have never prohibited *Embassadours* from other Kingdoms, and accordingly many are received, who are sent from the neigbouring Kings: only they lay this obligation upon them, that when they are arrived at the first City of the Kingdom, they are to stay there, where the Magistrates do treat them with all honour and respect, and presently give the King advice of their arrivall, who sendeth them leave to come to the Court, without which licence, they are not permitted to go forward. When they are come to Court, they are lodged in a particular Palace, whence they may not go out, but in the manner we have above related.

Above all, they have their certain laws, statutes, and ordinances, by which both they and their Kingdom are governed. These are of two sorts, The first consisteth in ancient rites, customes and ceremonies, common to the whole Kingdom, and are contained in five Books, and are esteemed to be, as it were Sacred. Of the second sort are the laws of the Kingdom, according to which Justice is administered in particular cases, both civill

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and criminall, concerning all that is to be observed in the execution of them. These are likewise very ancient, and are all founded upon those five *Cardinall virtues*, so much esteemed by their *Ancestours*, and which are at this day held in great veneration among them, that is, *Gin, Yi, Li, Chi, Sin*: *Pietie, Justice, Policie, Prudence and Fidelitie*.

Gin, say they, signifieth *Pietie, Humanitie, Charitie, Reverence, Love and Compassion*. Which they explaine after this manner, To esteeme ones selfe leffe than others, To be affable, To succour thoſe that are afflicted, To help thoſe that are in necessitie, To have a tender and compassionate heart, To bear good will to all men, and, To ſe all this more particularly toward their parents, ſustaining them while they are in health, and taking care to have them cured while they are ſick, ſerving them while they live, and honouring them with funeral obsequies, when they are dead.

Yi, according to their expofition, is *Fulſice, Equalitie, Integritie, condeſcenſion in things reasonable and iuft*. In this manner the Judge is to give every man his owne. The rich man, To take heed he be not proud of his wealth, and, To give ſome part of it to the poore, To worship heaven, To reſpect the earth, Not to be contentious, Not to be obſtinate, To yeeld to what is iuft and conformable to reaſon.

Li, they fay, is *Police, Courteſie, to honour and reverence others as is fitting*; which conſifteth, In the mutuall respect one man is to bear another, In the mature confideration & circumſpection, which is to be uſed in the ordering of their affaires, In the modeſtie of their outward deportment, In obedience to the *Magistrates*, In being affable to young men, and reſpectfull to old men.

Chi, ſignifieth *Prudence and Wiſdom*, the which they place, In reading of bookeſ, In learning of Sciences, In being perfect in the liberall arts, To be learned in matters of Antiquitie, To be well veriled in the knowledge of moderne affaires, To obſerve well what is paſt, thereby to better regulate the preſent and future occaſions, To diſcern right from wrong.

Sin, they fay, is *Fidelitie and Veriteſ*. It conſifteth in a ſincere heart and a reall intention, To do only that which is good, To imitate what is iuft, To make their works and words agree, and that which is hidden within, to that which appeareth outwardly.

According to this diſtribution of their doctrine, they reduce the Common-wealth to five orders of persons, correlative to one another in what concerneth the obſervance and duty of each, that is, the *King* and the *Subiect*, *Father and Sonne*, *Husband and Wife*, *Elder Brothers and Younger Brothers*, and *Friends one to another*.

The *King* is to obſerve toward his *Subiects*, *Vigilancie, Love and Clemencie*, and the *Subiects* toward the *King*, *Loyalty, Reverence, and Obedience*; The *Father* toward his *Children*, *Love and Compaffion*, They toward their *Father*, *Obedience and Pietie*. The *Husband* toward the *Wife*, *Love and Union*. She toward her *Husband*, *Fidelitie, Reſpect, and Complacency*. The *Elder Brothers* toward the *Younger*, *Love and Instruction*. The *Younger* toward the *Elder*, that is, to all their brothers that are elder than they, *Obedience and Reſpect*. *Friends* toward one another *Fidelitie, Truth and Similitudine*.

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This is the manner of living, which they observed in ancient times, and in the golden age : when their lawes were few, and they that gave *Obedience* to them many, being all founded upon the light and principalls of nature, as is yet to be seen in their books, expressed almost in the same termes they are in ours : when men took no pleasure in governing, but retired from the Court, and left their government, if they saw the people were not profited by their authoritie and example, or that Kings did not moderate themselves by their admonitions ; and so withdrew themselves to their owne possessions, which they till'd with their owne hands, as I have already touched in another place.

But after that *Ambition* and *Avarice* prevailed over *virtue*, and *private Interest* had blinded *Honour* and *Generosity*, this manner of living began to decay, and lawes to encrease : the new *Princes* changing some, moderating others, and adding many, especially *Humvū*, the first of this familie which raingheth at present, who finding the Kingdome, by having been some years under the *Tyranny* of the *Tartars*, to have changed many of their ancient customes, for those of strangers, wholly altered the form of government, and reduced the Kingdom, which was formerly divided among many *Princes*, into fifteen *Provinces* and one *Sole Monarch*: whence he was constrained to make new lawes, having notwithstanding alwaies regard unto the ancient ones.

Moreover, the *Chineſſes* have their Commandements, and in some *Provinces* they print them very well, and stick them up on the posts of their doores towards the street ; I believe they are not very ancient, and have some correspondence with our Decalogue, as *Not to kill, Not to Steele, Not to lie, To Honour their Father and Mother, &c.* And in this point of *Honouring their Parents*, we have much to learne of the *Chineſſe*, as also all other nations, who, in my judgement, are all exceeded in this, by *China*. Many excellent ancient things about *Honouring their Parents*, are to this day growne out of use, not in their speaking and writing, but in the execution of them, wherein they are now too negligent. But there are others, which although anciently they were better ordered, yet are to this day in force and vigour enough, and are exactly obserued from the King even to the meanest *Plebian*, not only in sustaining their *Parents*, making much of them, and having a ſpeciall care of them, and ſo much the greater, by how much the elder they are, but by respecting of them also with an incredibile reverence and ſubmiſſion, and this, what degree, age, and condition foever their children are in.

The King himſelfe, on certain daies of the year, viſitereth his *Mother*, who is ſeated on a Throne, and, fourtēn times on his feet, and fourtēn times on his knees, he maketh her a profound reverence, bowing his head even to the ground. The ſame custome is alſo obſerved through the greatest part of the Kingdom, and if by chance any one be negligent, or deficient in this duty, toward his *Parents*, they complaine to the *Magistrates*, who puniſh ſuch offenders very ſeverely.

Nor is the reſpect leſſe, which they beare their *Masters* and *Tutors*. And if *Alexander* could lay, that we owe more to our *Masters*, who inſtruct us, than to our *Parents* who beget us, it ſeemeth to me, that in *China* only

only this duty is understood, and diſcharged as it ought to be : for beſides the reſpect, which, during their whole life, they profeſſe to their *Masters*, they are never wanting at certain times to make them preſents, and when they are advanced to degrees and offices, they conſerue on their *Masters* very conſiderable benefits and fauours.

The *Old men* alſo in this Kingdom have their place and advantage, the *Chineſſes* honouring them no leſſe than they were anciently esteem'd among the *Lacedemonians*.

When they meet together, although there be ſome of the company, who are of greater *Nobilitie* (if they have not a dignitie or office, for theſe alwaies keep their place,) the *Old men* have the precedenee, and the young men upon all occasions pay them great reſpect. The *Magistrates* do them honour publickly, especially, when they are not only *old* in years, but alſo in virtue and good life, having lived without ſcandal and reprobation, and particularly, if they have never been cited into any Court, nor accused of any crime, which among them is taken for a *Testimony* of very great probite and goodneſſe : hence came their proverb, which ſaith *Xin Pu Kien, Quon Zieu Xita Pao*, that is, *The man who hath never ſen a Mandarine (they mean ſitting in judgement upon him) is a precious ſtone.*

The *Magistrates* every yeare make them a publick banquet, at the Kings charges, with Royall magnificence and ceremonies of great Honour and reſpect, ſhewing thereby, what is due to *grey haireſ*, which are venerable, not only for their years, but alſo for their vertues.

To conclude, the *Chineſſes* have their books full of Sentences and good counſells, did they but as well obſerve them in the praſtice, as they keep them carefully in their papers. I will only repeat ſome few of them, which come firſt to my memory.

In doing ſervice to our Masters and old men, the principall point is reverencē and conreſteſe.

We muſt hide other mens faults ; and not publith our owne perſecutions.

In the generall Government, there muſt be no particular affection.

We muſt not do evill, though it be never ſo little, nor leave a good deed undone, because it is not great.

The vertuous, althoſh young men, are to be Honourēd, and the vicious, althoſh old men, are to be avoided.

I have ſpoken briefly of the Kingdome of *China*, the people, their cuſtoms and manners, as well as I have been able, in regard I am at this preſent out of the Country, and deprived of the uſe of their books, out of which I might have taken many things of worth and curioſitie. But ſee-

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ing that at this time I can not say all that is to be said of any thing, it will not be amisse, to say something of all, and therefore I will now speak of the other nations, who live among them.

In describing the Province of *Cantone*, I said that the Island of *Haynam*, which is very great, and wholly appertaineth unto *China*, is divided into two parts: the first, which is neare to the continent, is, on the North part thereof, inhabited by *Chineſſes*, and governed by them: the other, which lieth toward the South, upon the confines of *Chochin, China*, is inhabited by a barbarous people, who have their particular language, and their laws and customes different, without medling at all with the *Chineſſes*, unless it be in some things of commerce.

I said also, that between the Provinces of *Chincheo, Cantone*, and *Kiamſi*, there are certain Mountaines which unite them, as in *Catalogna* the Mountaines of *Monferrat* do unite that Province to the Kingdome of *Arragon*; and how within those Mountaines there was a small Kingdome, which was likewise Governed by it ſelfe, not admitting any thing from the *Chineſſes*, except Physicians, Medicines, and ſome little traffique.

Befide theſe in the Province of *Tuman*, which is very large, lying towards the South, in the latitude of 24 degrees, there is a great Countrie inhabited by a particular people, who ſe another language and other cuſtomes. They have a little King called by the *Chineſſes*, *Thi Quon*, a Mandarine of earth, they pay tribute to the King of *China*, they ſe traffique, and live in peace.

The fame things hath been ſaid of the Province of *Que, Cihen*, where, in the confines thereof, there is a people, who have their particular heads, and Gouernours, without any other dependance on the *Chineſſes*, than the Inveftiture of the Title, by which they are called.

There are moreover in *China, Moors* in great abundance, not in all the Provinces, nor in every City, but yet in the more principall. They �peak the language of the Countrie, and know nothing of their own tongue, a few wordſonly excepted. They are acquainted alſo with many things of the holy Scripture.

In *Nankim* I found one, who was born and bred in that Cite, that pronounced to me *David, Abraham* and *Isaac*, as diſtinctly as I could do my ſelf. In their *Physiognomie*, nose, eyes, beard and face, they are altogether like the *Chineſſes*. They are Merchants, Physicians &c. They have Offices in the *Tribunals*: they ſtudy and are admitted to the examinations, and come many times to be *Mandarines*, but not of the great ones: for the moft part they ſtop at the degree of *Licentiate*. Commonly where they live, there are Beef-Shambles, because they eat no Pork, therefore whereſoever they are, they kill and ſell Beef, and it ſeemeth to me to be the greatest advantage the Country haſh by them, for where they are not, there is Seldome any of that flesh to be ſould. They have their publick *Mosche* allowed them by the King, They follow their own religion, but not very exactly. They, who arrive at the degree of *Litterato*, or to the dignitie of ſome Office, do not much care to be advanced higher.

They preſerve their Nation entire, by marrying with one another, althoſomeſtimes they take *Chineſſe* Women for their Wives; but they never

never give their Daughters in marriage to the Sonnes of *Chineſſes*. The reaſon is, because in *China* the wife followeth the husband, ſhe is brought to her husbands-Fathers house, there ſhe liveth and followeth his religiōn, therefore when a *Gentile* is brought to the house of a *Moor*, ſhe becomes a *Moor*, and a *Moorish* Woman being brought to the house of a *Gentile*, muſt infallibly become a *Gentile*.

The *Chineſſes* diſpife them, as being ſtrangers, and call them *Hacieu Hocu Hocu Hocu*. The letters, with which they write their name, hath no other ſignification, but only proper to exprefſe that people, nevertheless they are very angry and grieved, when they are called by it. The name by which they call themſelves is *Kia Muen*, that is, *the gate of Instructions*. If they be diſpifed of the *Chineſſes*, they no leſſe diſpife them; because they worship Idols, and are *Gentiles*: and thus the one is not behind hand with the other. In the City of *Nankim* they have, as i were a mount of *Petic*, or *Lombard*, with which they help only thoſe of their Nation, but not thoſe, who are Prisoners for their miſdeeds and wickedneſſe.

They came into *China* about 700 years ſince being called from *Turkeſtan*, by the King of that time, to aid him againſt a rebellion that was then in the Kingdome, wherein they had ſo good ſucceſſe, that they who were willing to remain there, were allowed to enjoy the ſame privilege with the natives of the Country; ſince which time they have ſo multiplied, that at this time there are many thouſands of them. Afterwards in the warre which King *Hum* had with the *Tartars* about 300 years ſince, they took his part and came in to his aſſiſtance; at which time the King gaining the victory they grew into greater esteem and were admitted to take part in the government of the Kingdome.

We have already ſpoken of the entrie which is made into *China*, every three and every five years, with an *Embaſſie* and preſents to the King; and though they are all *Moors*, yet they are of ſeveral Countries and Kingdomes, and very rarely any of them remain in *China*.

There are likewife *Jews* in *China*, although at this time no great number of them: but when, or how they came thither I am not able to ſay. Anciently there was greater ſtore of them, but they have been diſminished by little and little, many of them turning *Moors*. There live more of them in the Province of *Honan*, in the capitall City thereof, called *Cai Fum Fk*, than in any other place. They have there a *Synagogue*, well built and adored in the fashion of a great Chappel, and fet out with curtaines. They ſay they have there a very ancient Hebrew Bible. Father *Julius Alen*, one of our company, was among them for ſome time: they ſhewed him their *Synagogues*, but would not draw their curtaines and let him ſee the Bible. Father *Matthias Riccius* affirmeth, that according to the relation which the *Jews* themſelves made to him thereof in *Pekim*, it was not at all differing from ours. They have no knowledge at all of *Christ*, ſo that it ſeemeth they were entred into *China* before he came into the World; or at leaſt, if they have ever heard of him, the memorie of it is quite loſt: and therefore it wo uld be of great confequence to ſee their *Bible*: for perhaps they have not corrupted it, as our *Jews* have done, to obſcure the glo‐rie of our *Redeemer*.

These, as they are in no great number, so it is not probable they should long preserve themselves. They who at the Court had some discourse with our Fathers, did much lament that they had lost themselves for want of the Hebrew Tongue, and by the little knowledge they had of their law, and said, that after some time they should all become either *Moores* or *Gentiles*: that the ruler of their Synagogue at that time was a decrepit old man, and his sonne, who was to succeed him in his Office, young and ignorant of the things of their law, and that indeed there were very few among them, who were zealous observers of it.

Moreover these Jews did seem to be much troubled and weary of the reproaches which the Gentiles laid upon some ceremonies of their law, which is a sign they have no great affection for it: as, their not eating of Swines flesh, their not touching a beast, which hath been killed by the hand of a Gentile, but especially the circumcising their Infants on the eighth day; which their wives and Chineſſe kindred tell them, is a *cruell and barbarous thing*.

At this time we have, in that City of *Cai Funifū* a house and Church; and (when I left that Kingdome) a good number of Christians, which daily increased, not without hope also, that some good may be done upon those Jews, who being so ready to change their religion, will more easily embrace the true one, which hath more conformatie to theirs, than any other.

CHAP. 31.

Of the Christian Religion planted many ages since in China: and of a very Ancient stone lately discovered there, which is an admirable Testimonie thereof.

IT hath alwayes been a well grounded opinion, that the Christian Religion hath been very anciently planted in *China*, *Paulus Venetus* making a relation of that Countrie (from whence it is certain that he went many daies journey into the Countrie of the *Tatars*) affreuth us, that in that time there were a great number of Christians in *China*, who had very sumptuous Churches, and named the Cities where they lived. He wrot this with very much truth, for of all that which he mentioneth, there are yet remaining many houſes, and in other places the ruines of them, as a *Testimonie* of it.

To this may be added the *Testimonie* of other grave Authors, wherein we read, that the preaching of the *Goffell* penetrated as farre as *China*, by the *Ministrie* of the *Apostle St. Thomas* and his *Disciples*. Among other writings, out of which this may be drawn, the *Chalde* books concerning the *Indian Christianitie* cultivated by the meanes of the said *Apostle*, are of

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no small moment, the which it is certain, are to this day preserved, and kept in the *Arch-Bishropick of Grangonour, or Della Serra*, (that is of the Mountaines) as it is vulgarly called; translated out of that language by order of the Arch-bishop thereof *Franciscus Ros*, by the pains and industry of one of our fathers, who was very skilfull in that tongue. The translation is in Latin, but that it may be more generally understandit, we will turne what is cited out of it, into the vulgar.

One of these books is a *Breviary*, which, in one of the leſſons belonging to the ſecond nocturnal, hath these words.

By the meaneſ of S. Thomas the errors of the Idolatry of the Indians were diſſipated. By the meaneſ of St. Thomas the Chineſſes and Aethiopians were converted to the truſh. By the meaneſ of St. Thomas they obtained the vertue of Baptiſm, and the Adoption of Sonnes. By the meaneſ of St. Thomas they believed in the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost. By the meaneſ of St. Thomas they kept that faith, which they had promiſed to God. By the meaneſ of St. Thomas the beameſ of the knowledge of life enlightened all India. By the meaneſ of St. Thomas the Kingdome of Heaven flew and entred into China. And preſently there followeth an Antiphona, which faſh,

The Indians, the Chineſſes, the Persians, and the other Islanders, they of Siria, Armenia, Grece and Romania, in commemoration of St. Thomas do offer their Adoration unto thy moft Holy Name, O great God.

In the Summarie of the Constitutions synodall, part. 2. cap. 19, concerning *Bishops and Metropolitans*, there is a *Canon* of the Patriark *Theodosius*, which hath these words;

In like manner alſo the Bishops of the great Province, ſuch as are for the moft part the Metropolitans of China.

After the arrivall of the Portugheſes into *Cochine*, the governour of the Mountaines of *Malaber* who was called *Don. Diego* entitled himself *Metropolitans of India and China*; as did alſo *Don Giufeppe*, who died at Rome. There were the *Ancient Titles* of that Church, and being taken al together are ſtrong arguments, that the Christian Religion did formerly flouriſh in *China*.

There were the powerful motives, that did engage us, after our arrivall thither, with much care and fervour to trace the ruines and footſteps of that *Ancient Christianitie*.

In the Histories of that Kingdome, which we have very diligently perufed, we found no mention thereof, to our great admiration, knowing well, how curious and diligent Inquisitours the Chineſſes are in the affaires of their owne Countrie, that they might eternize the memory of them. It is true, we had information, that there were ſome in thofe parts, who did reverence the *Croſſe* and made the ſigne of it over their meat, without knowing the reaſon why they did it. When I was in the capitall City of *Kiamſi*, I was informed by a *Christian*, that in the little Towne of *Tamo, Xan*, which was not farre off, there were ſome, who when they went out of doores, did make the ſigne of the *Croſſe* upon their forehead, and being asked the reaſon of that custome, they anſwered only, that they had learnt it of their *Anceſtours*.

In the Court of *Pekim*, ſome of our fathers being one day to visit a *Jew*,

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he discoursed more particularly to them concerning this matter, and named to them the places and families, who did practise this signifying with the *Croſſe*. We ſent a brother of our ſociety thither, with this information, but with all the diligence he could uſe, he was not able to diſcover any thing of what he ſought for, whether it were that they had a ſuſpicion of him, or that really this cuſtom, or thoſe families were extirpt. Notwithſtanding the Jew did ſtill affiſme, That there were anciently many of theſe, who did reverence the *Croſſe*, particularly in the Northern Provinces, and that having gained a great reputation by their ſkill in learning and armes, they did cauſe the *Chineſes* to have a great ſuſpicion of them, ſo that thinking themſelves no longer ſafe, they diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral places: others who remained behind, diſembled the Religion on they had profeſſed: others became, either Moores or Jewes, and by this means they came to be extinguiſhed. This, as the Jew ſaid, was about 50 years before, and it is now about 30 years ſince he made this relation.

During theſe thirtie years, we have gone about all *China*, and founded Churches in ſeveral of the biggest Towns, planting the *Christian Religion*, and uſing all diligence to diſcover this truth, without having been able to obtain our purpoſe in the leaſt. It is true, we found a ſmall Bell, ſuch as is uſed at Maffe, with Greek letters round about it, and a *Croſſe* very handſomely graved: But this may have been brought in lately from other parts, upon ſome occaſion, ſuch as fall ouſten in that Country: as it was like wife probable, that book of Esops Fables in latin did, bound up after our manner, which I ſaw in the Province of *Nankin*. We then, conſidering on one ſide the great ſcarcitie of evident ſignes for the proving a thing of fo great importance, & which was Authoriſed by fo many pens and powerfull reaſons, it was no marvell, if we were in doubt, and perplexitie: and on the other ſide holding the thing for infallible, as really it is, we made uſe of ſome other waies, to finde out other reaſons and motives, why we thus failed of all manifest ſignes, diſferent from what the Jew had told us, diſcourſing with our ſelues in this manner.

When the *Tartars* conquered *China* there were many *Christians*, who had ſumptuous Churches, being much favoured by them, as appeareth by the relation of *Paulus Venetus*. Afterward when *Hunru* endeavoured to re-gaine the Kingdom, and made warre upon the *Tartars*, the *Moores* tooke part with the *Chineſes*, and lent them their assistance for the gaining of the Kingdom, and of the victory which they obtained, in acknowledgement whereof they were allowed to remaine in *China*, with libertie of their Religion and of their *Mosches*. The *Christians* inclined to the *Tartars*, and they being overcome in that warre, the *Christians* alſo were deprived of their Estates, and ſome being slain, others changing their Religion, oþers flying and hiding themſelves in ſecret places, in a ſhort time, all ſigne and memory of our Religion perished, ſo that it was not poſſible for us to diſcover any thing, with all the diligencie we uſed to that purpoſe.

To conclude, we remained very diſconſolate in the midst of ſo great darkneſſe, when it pleated *The only fountain of light to draw us out of this obſcurite*, with a moſt clear Testimony, that the *Gospel* had flouriſhed ſ�everal many ages ſince: The thing fell out thus.

In

In the year 1615, as they were digging the foundation for to erect a certaii building neare to the City of *Sianfu*, the Capitall Cittie of the Province of *Xemps*, the workemen lighted upon a table of ſtone above ſixteene paffes long, and more than fourteene breadth, and above one palmie in thickneſſe. The top of it, (that is, one of the extremitieſ, or ends, of the length thereof,) endeth in the forme of a Pyramid, above two palmies in height, and above one palmies breadth at the Basis. On the plaine of this Pyramide, there is a well form'd *Croſſe*, the extremitieſ whereof end in flower deuices, after the fashion of that *Croſſe*, which is reported to have been graue on the Sepulchre of the Apostle *S. Thomas* in the Towne of *Melior*, and as they were affeſtantly painted in *Europe*, of which there are ſome yet to be ſeen at this day.

This *Croſſe* is encircled, as it were, with certain clouds, and at the foot thereof were three Traverse lines, each conſiſting of three great letters, being all ſuch as are commonly uied in *China*, very fairly grauen: with the fame ſort of letters is engraven the whole ſuperficies of the ſtone, as also the thickneſſe thereof, the which notwithstanding differeth from the reſt, in that ſome of the letters grauen thereon, are forraine, neither were they knowne heret at the firſt finding of it.

Scarcely had the *Chineſes* diſcovered and cleaſed this notable piece of Antiquity, when excited by the fervour of their naturall curioſity, they ranne to the Gouvernor to give him notice of it, who being much joyed at this newes, preſently came to ſee it, and caused it to be placed upon a faire Pedefall, under a small Arch, ſuſtained by pillars at each end thereof, and openat the ſides, that it might be both defended from the injuries of the weather, and alſo ſeaſt the eyes of ſuch as are true Lovers of venerable Antiquity. He caused it alio to be ſet within the circuit of a Temple belonging to the *Benzis*, not farre from the place where it was taken up.

There was a wonderfull concouſe of people to ſee this ſtone, partly for the Antiquity thereof, and partly for the novelty of the ſtrange Charracters, which was to be ſeen thereon: and as the knowledge of our Religion is at this day very much ſpread abroad in *China*, a *Gentile*, who was a great friend unto a grave Christian *Mandarine* named *Liu*, being preſent there, preſently understood the mytery of that writing, and believing, it would be very acceptable to his friend, len him a copy thereof, althoſh he was diſtant above a month and a halfe voyage, the *Mandarin* dwelling in the City of *Hambur*, whither our fathers had retired themſelves, by reaſon of the former perſecution, whereof we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. This copy was received with a ſpirituall Jubilee, and many exteriour demouſtrations of joy, as an irrefragable Testimony of the *Ancient Christianity* in *China*, which had been ſo much defiried and fought after: for no leſſe was contained in this writing, as we ſhall ſhow anon.

Three years after in the year 1618 ſome of our fathers went into that Province in the company of a *Christian Mandarine*, who had occaſion to go thither. They founded a Church and house in the capitall City thereof for the ſervice of our good God, that he, who was pleased to diſcover ſo precious a memoriall of the poſſeſſion taken in that Country by his divine law, would alſo facilitate the reſtituſion thereof in the ſame place. It was

was my good fortune to be one of the first, and I esteemed it a happy abode, in that I had the opportunity to see the stone, and being arrived I took no thought for any thing else. I saw it and read it, and went often to read, behold, and consider it at leisure, and above all, I did much admire, that being so ancient, it should be so entire, and have the letters so plainly and neatly graven.

On the thicknesses of the sides thereof, it hath many Chinese letters, which containe many names of the Priests, and Bishops, of that time. There are also many other letters, which were not then knowne, for they are neither Hebrew nor Greek: and (for as much as I now understand) they containe the same names, that if peradventure some strangers, might not understand the letters of the Countries, they might perhaps be better acquainted with those of a forraigne extraction.

Passing by Cochin, I came to Cranganor, where is the Residence of the Archibishop of Cissa, to consult about these letters with father Antoni Fernandes one of our societie, who is very skilfull in the books and writings of those ancient Christians converted by S. Thomas. He told me the letters were Syriack, and the very lame which are used there at this day.

But let us come now to the inscription of our Marble which no doubt, ere this hath raised an appetit in the reader to know it.

Those three lines, which are at the foot of the Grosse, each consisting of three letters, as we have said, being faithfully translatid, as also all the rest, as neare as possibly I could say thus.

*A Relation in the Praise and eternall memorie, of the law of
the light of trinitie brought from Judea, and
preached in China.*

See another
Translition
somewhat
differing from
this in his
Prodrom.
Copt cap.
3 pag. 53.

The writing is graved on the plaine side of this stone in its proper letters, placed in lines running from top to bottom after the Chinese fashion. The first line, which is the shortest saith thus:

I A Prologue made by the Priest of the Kingdom of Judea named Kim Lim. The rest of the inscription in a magnificent Orientall stile, containeth that which followeth.

II Oh how true and profound is the eternall, and the incomprehensible most spirituall speaking of time past, he is without beginning, and of time to come he is without end, and alwaies in the same perfection. He tooke nothing, and with it he made all. He is a principall, consisting of Trinitie and Unite, yet without any reall principle. The Lord Olooyu. He made the fourre parts of the world in figure of a Croffe. He moved the Chaos and made the two principles. There was an alteration made in the Abyssie, and heaven and earth appeared. Nature at the beginning was pure, and exempt from disorderly passions, and she heart was cleane, without the narkiness of the appetites.

III Man came afterward to fall into the deceits of Satan, who covering with words the mischiefe he had plotted, perverted the innocence of the first man. From this principle sprang 365 Sects, which by reason they were so many did one drive away the other, and of all of them was made a net, wherein the world was caught. Some chose the creatures and appropriated Divinity to them: others were plunged in that errors of thinking that all is nothing, and ends in nothing. Others

others make sacrifice to invrie good fortune, and others invent lies, to decease the world. The understanding corrupted with errors, and the vniuersall passions, are altogether obsewed. Men walked forwards without certaine arrieling at the end they aimed at. The world was all in a miserable condition, when still multiplied the darkness, and losyng his way, mankind long since was in a manner out finding the truth.

IV Then the Medias, one of the three persons, covered himselfe and passing and making himselfe a man, appeared unto the world. An Angel came to manifest the Mystery, and a Virgin brought forth the Holy one of Startes, apperred, which gave notice of his birth to those of the Kingdom of David. They sent to offer him Tribuite, and all was done according to what had beene foretold by the fourre and twenty Saints. He published to the world she was a pure Law. He purifid their customes, and recifid the faith. He cleansed the world. He perfecid vertue, and therin founded the three vertues. He opened the way to life, and shut up that of death. He manifested the bright day, and hapified the darke day before. He conquered the obscure state, as what time the devil remained wholly subduid, and succoured with his mercy the sinking world. That man might ascend to the habitations of lights. As farre he had perfecid his works, he ascended into the heavens at Midday. There remained 27 books of holy Scripture. There were opened the gates to Everlasting by means of that water, whiche led to hell, and purfied. His Ministers made use of the Holy Croffe, they made their shade no more in one place than in another, that they might illuminate the whole world. The world being thus reduced unto Union, men did walke after their example, and (thus) did they open the way of life and glory.

V They suffered their beard to grow, and did shew by shewments, that they were like other men in their external part. They cut their hair to shew to the roots, upon the top of their head, and by this shewed, that they had no inward worldly affections. They kept no seruants, the Noble and the common men ware with them the same thing. They tooke no riches from men. They gave to the poore what they had. They fasted and watched to bring the flesh into subjection to the spirit. Seaven times aday they offered sacrifices of praise, by which they helped the living and the dead. Every seaven day they did offer. They purifid their hearts to receive the holy innocencie. The true law hateth no name that doth well suit with it, and that is able to explain the excellency thereof; therefore because it wanteth another name, we will call it The law of Brightnesse. The law, if it be not holy, cannot be called great: and if holinesse be not unfeareable in that which the law teacheth, it may not have that name. But in this law the holinesse correspondeth to the law, and the law to the holinesse.

VI. If there be not Kingly Persons to favour it, the law cannot well be propagated, if they receive not the law, they cannot grow truly great. When they and the law do agree, presently the world is enlightened. By this means, at the same, when a King named Tai Zum Veu Hoam did govern with famous prudence and sanctitie, there came from Judea a man of high vertue, by name Olopien, who being guided by the clouds brought the true doctrine. And in the year Chin Quom Kieuui he arrived at the Court. The King commanded the Colao Fam Kizulin, that he should go and meet him as farre as the West, and that he should treat him as his guest with all manner of kindnessse. He caused this doctrine to be translated in his palace, and seeing the law to be true, he powerfully commanded

commanded it should be divulged through the Kingdome, and presently after, he sent forth a royal patent, which contained that which followeth.

The true law hath no determinate name. The Ministers thereof go about in every part to teach it unto the world, having no other aim, but to be profitable to those that live in it. In the Kingdome of Tachin, this Olopuen, being a man of great virtue, hath brought from so remote a Countrey Doctrines and Images, and is come to place them in our Kingdome. Having well examined that which he proposeth, we find it to be very excellent, and without any outward noise, and that it hath its principall Foundation even from the Creation of the World: his doctrine is brief, neither doth he found his truth in superficiall appearances; it bringeth with it the salvation and benefit of men: wherefore I have thought it convenient, that it should be published through our Empire.

He commanded the Mandarines of this Court of Nimsam, that they should build there a great Church, with 21 Ministers, weakening by that mearies the Monachie of Chen Old Fu, head of the sect of Tawz; which was carried in a black Chariot toward the West: so, the great Tam being enlightened together with Tao, the Holy Gospel came into China and a little while after, the King commanded, that Olopuen his Picture should be painted on the wals of the Temple, where it shineth, and his memorie will awytes shine in the World.

VII According to the records of the Empires of Han and Guei the Kingdome of Tachin bordereth Southward upon the red Sea, and Northward on the Mountaines of Pearls, Westward on the Forest Delle Fule Per Li Santi, Eastward on the Countrie of Cham Fum, and the dead water. The Countrie produceth a Lake Asphaltitis of fire, Balsome, Pearles and Carbuncles: it hath no robbers, but all live in joyfull peace. The Gospel only is allowed in that Kingdome: and honours are conferred only on thole that are vertuous. Their houses are great, and all is illustrious by their order and good customes.

VIII The great Emperour Cao Zum, the Sonne of Tai Zum, continued with good decorum the intention of his Grand Father, enlarging and adorning the works of his Father. For he commanded, that in all his Provinces, Churches should be built, and honours conferred on Olopuen, bestowing upon him the Title of Bishop of the great law; by which law he governed the Kingdome of China in great peace, and the Churches filled the whole countrie with the prosperitie of preaching.

IX In the year Xim Lte the Bonzi of the Sect of the Pagods using their wonted violence, did blaspheme this new and holy law, in this place of Tum Chen: and in the year Sia Tien, some particular Persons in Sigan, with laughter and disparagement did mock at it.

X Then one of the chief of the Priests, called John, and another of great virtue, named Kie Lie, with some others of their Countrie, Priests of great fame, being disengaged from the things of the world, began to take up again that excellent net, and to continue the thred, which was now broken. King Hi ven Zum Chi Tao commanded five little Kings to come in person to the happie house, and to set up Altars. Then in the year Tien Pao, the pillar of the law, which had been cast down for a while began

to

to grow great: King Taciam Kim gave command to Caulic Sic that the Pictures of five Kings his ancestors should be placed in the Churches, with a hundred Prelents to honour the solemnite. Although the great beards of the Dragon, were afarre off, yet could they lay hands on their Bowes and their Swords. The brightness which floweth from these Pictures, maketh them seem, as if the Kings themselves were present. In the third year of Tien Pao, the Priest Kiebo was in India, who guided by the starres came to China, & beholding the Sunne, came to the Emperour, who commanded that John and Paul, and other Priests should be joyned unto him, to exercise Holy works in Kim Kim, a place within the palace. Then were hung up in Tables in the Churches the Kings letters richly adorned, by publique order, with red and blew colours, and the Kings pen filled the emptines: it mounted on high, and transcended the Sun; his favours and donaties may be compared to the tops of the Mountaines of the South; and the abundance of his benefits is equal to the bottom of the eastern Sea. Reason is not to be rejected, there is nothing which the Saints cannot do, and their deeds are worthy of memorie. For this cause king Sozam Ven Mim commanded, that Churches should be built in this Limvu, and in five Cities. He was of an excellent nature, and opened the Gate to the common prosperitie of the Kingdome, by which meanes the affaires of the Empire began to flourish again.

XI King Tazum Veruu caused happie times to return again, doing things without labour and trouble: alwayes at the feast of the nativite of Christ he sent Heavenly perfumes to the Royall Churches, to honour the Ministers of this holy law. Truly, heaven giveth beautie and profit to the world, and liberally produceth all things. This King imitated heaven, and therefore he knew how to sustaine and nourish his subjects.

XII King Kien Chun Kim Xin Veruu used eight wayes of government for to reward the good and chastise the wicked, and nine wayes to renew the estate of the Golpel. Let us pray to God for him, without being ashamed of it. He was a man of much vertue, humble, and desirous of peace; and ready to forgive his neighbour, and to assist all men with charitie. These are the steps of our holy law: to cause the winds and the raines to retire at their seasons: that the world should live in peace; men be well governed, and affaires well establisched; that the living should prosper, and the dead be in happiness; all this proceeds from our Faith.

XIII The King gave many honourable Titles in his Court to the Priest Y Su, a great Preacher of the Law, and also a garment of a red colour, because he was peaceable, and took delight in doing good to all. He came from afarre off into China, from the Country of Yam Xe Chi Chim. His vertue surpassed our three famous Families, he enlarged the other sciences perfectly. He served the King in the Palace, and afterward had his name in the Royall book. The little King of Fuen Tam, who had the Title of Chum Xulim, and called himself Cozy, served at first in the warres of these parts of Siam. King Sozam commanded Y Su that he should assist Cozy very much above all the rest: neither did he for this change his ordinarie custome, being the Nails and Teeth of the Common-Wealth, the Eyes and Eares of the Army. He knew well how to distribute his re-

venue; he was not sparing in any thing: he offered a precious Gift, called *Poli*, to the Church of this place of *Lingnien*: he gave Golden Carpets to that of *Cie Ki*. He repaired the old Churches, and established the house of the law, adorning the chambers and galleries thereof, making them shine like flying lights; he laid out his whole strength upon works of charitie: every year he assembled the Priests of the fourre Churches, serving them with a good heart, and making them honourable entertainment for the space of fifty daies; he fed the hungry, cloathed the naked, cured the sick, and buried the dead.

XIII In the time of *Ta So*, with all his parsimonie, there was not such goodnessse, as this to be seen: but in the time of this law we see such men, who do such good works as these. For this reason have I graved this Stone, that thereby they might be published.

I say then, that the true God had no beginning, but being pure and quiet, was awalys after the same manner: he was the first *Artificer* of the *Creation*; he uncovered the earth, and elevated the Heaven. One of the three Persons made himself man for our eternall salvation: he ascended like the Sunne on high, and defeated darknesse: in every thing he did discover the profound *Truth*.

XV The illustrious King, being really the first of the first, making use of a fit time, put a stop to mens invention: the heaven was dilated, and the earth extended. Most bright is our law: the which, when *Tam* came to the Kingdome, and propagated the doctrine, and buidled Churches, was as a *Barque*, both for the living and the dead, and gave rest to the whole world.

XVI *Cao Zum* following the example of his Grand-Father, built new Churches. The beautifull Temples of peace filled the whole earth. The true law was illustrated; he gave a title of honour to the *Bishop*; and men enjoyed repose.

XVII The wife King *Hi Yin Zum* followed the right way; the royal Tables were illustrious; the Kingly letters shone therein. The Pictures of the Kings gave light on high, and all the people did reverence them; and all men had joy and gladnesse.

XVIII When *So Zum* reigned, he came in person to the Church. The Holy *Sunne* did shine, and the bright cloudes swept away the darknesse of the night: Prosperitie was united to the Royall family; misfortunes ceased, the heat of dissentions was abated: he quieted the rumours, and he renewed our Empire.

XIX King *Tai sun* was obedient, in vertue equall to heaven and earth: he gave life unto the people, and advancement to their affaires: he exercised works of charitie; he offered perfumes to the Church. The *Sunne* and *Moone* were united in his person.

XX When King *Kien Chum* reigned, he did illustrate famous vertue; and with his armes restored peace to the fourre seas: and with his learning he pacified 10000 confines. As a torch he did enlighten the secrets of men, he saw all things as in a glasse: He received the Barbarians, who all took rules from him.

XXI The law is great and perfect, and extendeth it selfe to all things, desiring

desiring to frame a name for it, I cannot but call it, *The Divine Law*. Kings know best to dispose their affaires, I, who am a subject, can only cause them to be recited on this rich stone, for to magnifie our great felicitie.

XXII In the Empire of great *Tam*, the second year of *Kien Chum*, the seaventh day of the Month of Autumn, was this stome erected. *Nin Cia* being *Bishop*, and Governing the Church of China. The *Mandarine*, called *Liu Sicyuen*, entitled *Chaylam* (in which office before him was *Tai Chen Sh Sic Kan Kinn*) graved this stone with his owne hand.

This is the Interpretation of that *Inscription*, translated as faithfully as we could possibly, out of the Chinese Phraze.

It will not be impertinent now to make some *Annotations* upon the text; having forborne on purpose to do it before, that I might not breake the thread of the discourse, and therefore we will take the *Paragraphs* in order, noting the words which we will explaine, and giving some advertisement upon them.

Giudea. This word is written just thus without any other difference, but that the Characters are *Chinese*. The same is found also in the other words or names, of *Satanas* and *Messias*, which are in the iii and iii Paragraphs.

II Olooyn. This word is written just thus in the stone, and it is probable he meant *Elo* which is a name of God. *The two principals*, of which he speaketh afterward, are matter and forme according to their *Phylosophie*.

III The kingdom of Pozu, in the *Chinese maps*, lyeth East of *Judea*. *The 24 Saints may well be*, *The fourre great Prophets*, *The twelve small Prophets*; *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, Moses, Joshua, David and Zacharias*, the father of *John the Baptist*, who put together make up that number, and have spoken the plainest concerning the coming of *Christ*.

IV He conquered the sea, &c. It seemeth that he speaketh of the *Redeemers descent into hell*. *Twenty seven books*. It is probable he meaneth the new *Testament*, that is, *The fourre Evangelists*, *The Acts of the Apostles*, *The fourteen Epistles of S. Paul*; one of *S. James*, two of *S. Peter*, three of *S. John*, one of *S. Jude*, and the *Revelation*.

V Seaventenes a day they offered &c. He seemeth to speak of the feaven Canonical hours. *Every seaventh day &c.* Signifieth the sacrifice of the *Masse*, which was celebrated every *Lords day*.

VI.VII. The year of Chim Quon &c. According to the computation of their Histories, it is the year of our *Redemption* 636. *Weakening the Monarchie &c.* This clause is an Elogie given to that Prince by the Author of this *Inscription*. *Was carried in a black chariot toward the West &c.* It is to be understood, that it went away out of *China*.

VIII Caocum. It appeareth by their books, that he reigned in the year of our Lord 651.

IX Ximlie. According to the Christian Computation, was the year 699. *Tumchou*. The opinion of the Translatour is, that it was a particular place in the Province of *Honam*. *Sien Tien* is the year 712. *Sicham*, Called at present *Sigam*, was the ancient Court in the Province of *xemsi*.

X King Hi Ven Zum, &c. Began to raigne in the year 714. *Tien Pab* lived

lived in the year 745. *Cao Lio Sic*, is the name of an Eunuch, who was very powerfull with that King. *The Bear's* &c. This clause is another Eloge (made by the Authour) of those Kings. *The Dragon* &c. According to the interpreter, this is an ancient fable of that Kingdom, which relatheth, That one of their Kings rid through the ayre mounted upon that beast, which his subjects, who accompanied him, had laden with their armes, but they which came after plucked off the beard of the *Dragon*, and took some of the armes; that these might remain by them as a memorall of that Prince, whom they did fancy to be present with them in these reliques. This fable might haply take its Orginall from the custome which their Kings have, of embroidering *Dragons* on their garments, and other things, which belong to them. *The third year of Tien Pao* &c. falleth out, according to our account, to be the year 745. *Souen Yen Min*, reigned in the year 757.

XI. *Tai Zun Yen Wu*, began to raigne in the year 764.

XII. *Kien Chum Xin*, was King in the year 781.

XIII. *Vam Xe Chi Chim* is a place in the Country of the Pagods, and signifieth a remote Countrie. *Poli*, saith the interpreter, is some vessel of glasse.

XIV. *Taso* was a *Bonzo* of the feft of the Pagods, who made a great assembly of the *Bonze*, to treat of the publike affaires of that religion, and tooke care to lodge them, and provide all necessaries for them.

XIX. *The Sunne and Moone* &c. Signifieth, that all obeyed that King.

XXII. *Kien Chuan*, was the year 782. In the other Paragraphs whereon we have made no Annotations, there is nothing of obscuritie to require it:

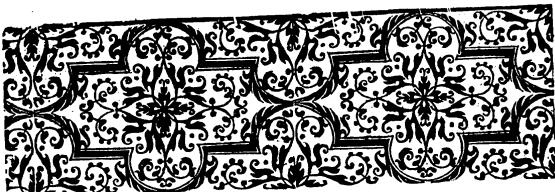
It appeareth then evidently, by the testimony of this venerable Antiquity, that the *Christian Religion* was planted in *China* by the means above-said, in the year of *Christ* 636; nevertheless, it is not to be imagined, that it was not formerly brought thither by the preaching of the Apostles, who as the holy Scripture faith, did disperce themselves through the whole earth: but, as it happened in several other Countries, that after it had once been propagated there by them, it came in time to be extinguished, and was againe renewed by the industry of others; so it fell out in *India*, where St. *Thomas* the Apostle had once preached the *Gospel*; but all memory thereof being lost, about the year 800, a rich *Armenian Christian*, called *Thomas the Canaanite* restored the ancient Religion in the Cittie of *Mogo Doven*, or *Patana*, repairing the Churches, which had been formerly built by that holy Apostle, and erecting others. And upon this occasion of the likenesse of their names, many have mistaken them to be all built by the first *Thomas*. The same thing may probably have happened in *China*, where the *Gospel* being received, prefently after it, begant to be published to the world; and being afterward extinguished, it was introduced again a second time, whereof this inscription maketh mention; and lastly a third time, whereof we purpose to treat in the second part. It feemeth neccesarie thus to state the matter, that we may not derogate from the Testimonic of those grave Authours, whom I have formerly cited, how St. *Thomas the Apostle* did preach in *China*, and converted it to the true Religion.

The

The time wherein the memorie of the Holy Apostles preaching was lost, was not much different both in *India* and *China*; for by severall conjectures it appeareth, that *Thomas the Canaanite* renewed it in *India* in the eighth Century after Christ; and by this stome it is manifest, that it was in the seventh Century after Christ, when it was preached in *China*: and therefore without much difficultie it may be Concluded, that this was not the first establishment of the Christian Religion there; but rather a re-establishment of it.

The end of the first part.

THE



THE SECOND PART.
VWherein is contained
The Christianitie of the Kingdome
OF
CHINA.

C H A P. 1.

*Of the first beginnings of the Preaching of the
Gospel in China.*



According to the opinion of Socrates, he was to be esteemed no lesse injurious, who spake against the Sunne, than he, who should deny the beautie of the light thereof, with which it maketh the day, and of that which is the fruit therof, as *Tertullus* allegorizeth it, that is, the flower. It would be no lesse a fault, but rather more unpardonable in him, who treating of the conversion of *China*, should deny *Franciscus Xaverius* to have bin the flower of that day of Grace, which, having bin set there for so many ages, is now risen again upon the Gentiles of that Monarchie. He was the first who came to the gates therof with that Treasure of the holy Gospel, after he had communicated it to so many severall Kingdomes and Provinces. The glorious Saint *Leo* speaking of the Apostle St. Peter saith, *Fam Populos, qui in circumcisione crediderunt, crudeliter: jam Antiochenam Ecclesiam fundaverat: jam Pontum, Galatiam, Cappadociam, Asiam aquae Bithyniam, legibus Evangelicae Predicationis impleverat: nec aut dubius de proiectu operis, aut de spatio sue ignarus etatis, Trophaum Crucis Christi Romanis arcibus inferebat.* All

All India doth confess no lesse of their Apostle, to whom the bounds of the *Baff*, though very large, seemed but narrow, having already instructed in the faith the principall Cities thereof *Goa* and *Cochin*, having planted the Gospel on the coasts of *Pestaria*, having converted the Country of *Travancor*, instructed *Cambria*, and propagated the faith at *Malacea*, preached the true religion at *Macasar*, & the *Molucche Islands*, and finally, converted the King of *Bungo* in *Giapon*, and filled all that Kingdom with the knowledge of the law of Christ; yet still the desire of a greater harvest, and to profit other Nations, suffered him not to rest. *Studium proficiendi alii, os illius impatiens reddidit*, as *Robertus Abbas* faith of another Labourer in the Gospel: *uide atc ut dubius de proiectu operis, aut despatis sua ignarus etatis Trophaum Crucis Christi Sinicis arcibus inferebat.*

This was his ayme, these were his hopes and desires, with which he undertooke the voyage of *China*, when being arrived at *Sanciana*, where the *Divine Providence* had appointed he should end his daies; (that being true which *Tertullian* saith, *Deus omnium conditor nil non ratione providerit, dispositus, ordinavit.*) And the Lord being well appayed with the intention of his servant, and the ardent desires which he had, to sacrifice his life in this enterprise, as *Abraham* had to sacrifice the life of his sonne *Isaac*, causing him to ascend up into Mount *Sancian*, (as he did *Moses* into Mount *Nebo*, after he had shewed him the land he so much desired to conquer) *Mortuus est, jubente deo*: the good man died by the ordination and appointment of Heaven, after he had seen and shewed unto his Soas that land, which he had gained (like another *Jacob* for *Joseph*) with the bow of his will, and the arrowes of his desires, leaving them for an inheritance the conquest thereof, together with his hereditary spirit, which his sonnes and followers having received (in part,) made their assault, and at length entered this place; and it is now about fifty years that they have kept it with many labours, travells, persecutions, imprisonments, *Bastinades*, and in a word, *Egemes, Angustiati, Afflitti*; These being the armes with which the standard of the Christian faith is set up in the Kingdome of the *Gentiles*, and by means whereof (together with the grace of God,) so many men have been converted unto Christianitie, as you shall finde in this following relation.

After my retурne into *Europe*, and that my intention of seeking Labourers for this vine yard was once divulged, presently there were so many pretenders, who made suit to me to be received, that there is scarce a Province of our society, from whence I have not received many letters from severall of the fathers, wherein they did not only offer themselves, but made it their most earnest request, that I would accept of them, to serve as Soldiers in this enterprise; as if the trouble and paines they were to suffer in these long and dangerous voyages, and the persecutions they are so certaine to undergo in this exercise, were to this undertaking, as the prickles are to Roses, whereof S. *Ambrose* saith, That they are *Amatoria quedam intellectu mera*. And in the Province of *Portugall*, as being most conveniently situated for this voyage, only out of the two Colledges of *Coimbra* and *Ebora*, it had a list of 90 persons, all so ready and desirous to labour in this Mission, that many of them, not being content to declare their desires by ordinary

ordinary words written with pen and inke, have sent me very long letters concerning their holy pretention, all written and signed with thier owne blood, witnessing in this manner, that they had a holy courage, that could despise the threats of Martyrdom; offering cheerfully to the Lord that little blood, as a Testimony of the great desire they had to shed it all for his sake.

Who now can doubt, whether these be not the marvellous effects of that spirit and zeale which *Franciscus Xaverius* communicated to them; occasioning inwardly in the breast of each of them, that which a little while since he did outwardly in that great Champion *Marcellus Spinellus*, by sending him to *Giappone*, where he crowned that glorious enterprize with his blood.

Sancian is one of those many Islands, which, on that side, give a beginning to the Kingdom of *China*: it is a high mountain covered with trees, and though very pleasant, yet un-inhabited. When the *Portugheſſes* first began their trade with *China*, this Island served them for a Port, and there they buit houles with straw, like huts, which served them only for the time of their Negotiation, & whilst they expected their merchandise; but as soone as that came, they abandoned that habitation, and presently setting sail, returned into *India*. Foure and fiftie miles from thence, more within the Kingdom, there is another Island named *Gau Xan*, and by the *Portugheſſes* *Macao*, it is but small, and so full of rocks, that it is very easie to be defended, and very opportune for the rendevoys of *Pyrats*: and robbers; as indeed it was at that time, when many of them having got together in that place, did much infest all the Islands thereabouts. The *Chineſſes* were in consultation how they might remedy that milchife, but whether it was that they wanted courage to undertake it, or that they chose rather to have it done without running any danger themſelves, and at other mens cost, knowing well the valour of the *Portugheſſes*, they ſet them upon the enterprize, promising them, that if they could drive out the *Pyrats*, it ſhould be granted to them for an habitation.

The *Portugheſſes* accepted of the condition with much pleasure and contentment: and though they were but few and much inferior in number to the *Pyrats*, nevtheleſſe being more ſkilfull in military affaires, they put themſelves in order, and ſet upon them with ſo much courage, that without the loſe of one man on their owne party, though with great flaughter of the enemy, they preſently became Masters, both of the field and Island. They began preſently upon this to build, every one taking that place and ground which ſeemed good to him: But that which cost nothing at firſt, came after to be ſold very deare, and at ſo high a rate at this preſent, that it would hardly be beleaved, how much the leaſt piece of ground to build on in that City would cost. For, trade beginning to infaile every where in *India*, doth here encrease ſtill every day, and the Inhabitants are growne fo rich, that the covetouerneſſe of the Hollanderſ are made them have a great longing to it, and did once attempt to take it.

In the moneth of June 1622. Fourteen ſaile of Hollanderſ came into that Port, with ſo much resolution and assurance to take that City, that they

they had already diuided (in their thoughts) the principall parts thereof among themſelves, and many Captaines and old Souldiers came along in this Fleet, only out of hopes to have their former ſervices paid them here, and to ſettle themſelves in a condition of eaſe and plenty after all the hardships they had endured. They landed 700 men on Midſomer Eve, 300 of them ſtaid upon the ſhore to guard the Cannon, the other 400 having drawn up themſelves into a ſquadron, went to the Hill of our *Lady della Guida*, marching towards the Citiſ with ſo great order and chearfulneſſe, as if they had the victorie already in their hands.

They were no ſooner diſcovered from the Mountain of *S. Paul*, but they were received with two or three ſalutes from the cannon on that ſide, ſo well levelled, that beginning to abate of their fury, they left the direct way toward the Citiſ, and turned on the left hand toward the Mountain of our *Ladie del buon porto*: and because there was a Garrison there, they kept off about twice Musket-shot, and fortified themſelves on the ſides of the Hill where *St. Maries Church* stands. But the *Portugheſſes* diſcharged upon them ſo ſeaſonably, and with ſo much valour and courage, that they put them to flight, and made them run down the hill toward the Sea, where the other Souldiers stood by the ſhips. They fled in ſo much disorder and conuſion, that although there were above 300, there to guard their Artillerie, who did ſuccour them with fresh Men, and encourage them to face about, yet all was in vain, and ſo both the one and the other forced to runne into the water up to the chin, to get into their boates: and theſe ſcaped well; for many went over head and eares, and a barque by reaſon of the conuſion and disorder of thoſe that got into her, ſunk down right, and above 400 men were drowned. The number of the wounded, is not known, but it is conueſtured, they could not be few: for whilſt they embarqued, our Muskettiers, who ſtood upon a hill just over them, played continually upon them. Of the *Portugheſſes* there were slain only three or four, and ſome Servants. The Hollanderſ being ill ſatisfied with this entertainment, preſently ſet ſaile, and durſt never ſince hazard themſelves upon the like enterprize.

This was the cauſe of fortifying the Town of *Macao*, with a wall round about it, having fix Bulwarks: that of *St. Paul*, which ſerueth as a cittadell, ſtanding higher than the Town, having fifteen pieces of Cannon, a Court of Guard, and a Caſtellān belonging to it. That of the Port, having fourteen pieces of cannon, among which are fix great ones, that carry each of them a ball of 50 pound weight, and another Court of Guard. The third Bulwark is that of our *Ladie del buon porto*, with eight pieces of cannon. The fourth, that of *St. Francis* toward the Mountain, with other eight pieces of Cannon. The fifth is, that of *St. Peter*, with five pieces of Cannon. The fixt is, that of *St. John*, with three pieces of Cannon. And because the Mountain of our *Ladie della Guida* commandeth both the Bulwark of *St. Paul* and the Citiſ, it was fortified in the year 1637 in the ſame manner as the Rock of *Charil* is: it hath ten great brasse Cannon.

The Citiſ is not great, there are in it about 900 or 1000 *Portugheſſes*, who are all rich, and live very ſplendidiſ: there are many *Chineſſe* Christians, who are cloathed, and live after the *Portugheſſe* fashion; there are

are also *Chineses* who are *Gentiles*, and are cloathed, and live after the fashion of their own Countrie: all the Artizans of the Cite consist of this last sort, as also the Shop-keepers and Retailers &c. and are in all about 5 or 6000.

There resideth also in the same Cite an Auditor, who is sent thither by the King of *Portugal*, and is superintendent of the traffique and commerce of that Isle. The trade with *Giappone* (not to speak of that of *Manila*, which is worth very much) yeeldeth the King every year, for his rights and customes at ten per cent. many thousands of Crownes per annum. In the year 1635 it was worth to him 14000 *Taus*, which are better than Crowns.

The Cite spendeth every year, one year with another, in their Artillerie, Gunpowder, and the charges of their walls, and other things belonging to their Militia, (as appeareth by the books of publique accounts) above 40000 Crownes.

The rights and customes of the Faire of *Camone*, at 6 and 7 per cent. importeth about 40 or 50000 Crowns. The Navigation to *Giappone* with the Present which is sent to the King, and other Presents to the *Tomi* of that Island, costeth between twenty and five and twenty thousand Crownes. Their house of *Mercy* standeth them every year in 8 or 9 thousand Crownes. They maintaine two Hospitals, three parish Churches, five Monasteries, four of Men and one of Women, besides the continuall Almes, which they distribute to the poor Christians of those Countries; and particularly to them of *China*: and although the ordinary Almes, which the King of *Portugall* alloweth them from *Goa* hath not been paid these 19 years, yet are they wel relieved by the liberalitie of the Citizens of *Macao*. I doubt not but the Lord doth favour this Cite for their many Almesdeeds, and for the great care they take about the Service and Worship of God.

Finally, this Cite of *Macao* is a continuall Seminarie, wherein are educated and brought up many of those Labourers, who cultivate not only *China* and *Giappone*, but also all other Christianities of the Neighbouring Kingdomes. It is also a Sanctuarie and place of Refuge, where, in times of troubles and persecutions, they may all shelter themselves, as it were in another *Meab*, being upon all occasions, *Refugium à Facie Vastatoris*.

One of the Convents of this Cite is a Colledge belonging to our Sociecie. There are commonly between threescore and fourscore persons in it, more or lesse, according to the number of the persons they receive, or send away. For all *Missions* being furnished out of them, their number must needs be very uncertain. There are in that Colledge two Lectures in Divinitie; one of Cases of Conscience; one course of superiour studies; two classes of Latin; one schoole for children, so numerous, that the lower forme thereof containeth above 90 children of the *Portuguefes*, and people of that Countrie.

Out of this House, (which at the beginning was very small, and the labourers there very few,) first came the Souldiers of this enterprise. Father *Alexander Valignan* of happy memorie, who was then Visiteur, resolved to send some of the Fathers into *China* to endeavour to convert that vast Kingdome to the faith of Christ; when presently the first difficulties began at the Colledge it selfe, a manifest prognostication of the many

many that should happen in the progreſſe of the work, and execution of the undertaking. For to some of the Fathers, by reaſon of the knowledge and experience they had of the Kingdome of *China*, this enterprize seemed not only difficult, but also rash and unadvised, wherefore they advised the Visitour not to ſet his mind upon it. But our Lord, who bringeth wonderfull things to paſſe from weak and troubleſome beginnings, would have this deſign put in execution.

Father *Michael Roggiero* was the firſt, who was named to take paines in this conqueſt: he was followed by the Fathers *Franciscus Paffius*, *Antonius de Almeida Duarte*, *Mattheus Riccius*, and others, who came after and helped on the work, and like the foundation-stones of that building, iuſtained the firſt weight thereof and greater difficulties, labours and troublcs, than any *Missions* of our Sociecie had ever felt. For the difficulties in new *Missions* into Kingdome ſo remote and diſferent, from our *Europe* in language, custome, conuerſation, diet &c. are not ordinarie; neither can they be few. But thoſe in the *Mission* of *China* do far exceed all others. The language ſeemeth more difficult than any in the world, beeing all of *Monosyllables*, curt and equivocall: and in this difficulty the Fathers were without any Maſter to teach them, without any interpreter to explain what was ſaid to them, ſo that they neither underſtood others, nor others them, but by force of diligence and unwearied paines they went on conqueſting and gaining ground: and although they never arrived at any perfection in the language, or good accent in pronouncing it, yet they discovered the mysteries of that tongue, and ſet them down in ſo plain a forme, that they made it much more eaſie for thoſe who came after them. To this may be added the painfull ſtudy of their letters, which of it ſelfe alone is a buſineſſe of incredible labour, they being ſo many and ſo various: and in this *Mission*, (contrarie to what is done in others) the Fathers do ſtudy them all with ſo much diligence, that they have not only learned to write, and to read their books very perfectly, but do alſo compole others themſelves, and haue of late published many to the great adverſement of *Christianity*: and in truth, the Fathers in *China* do juſtly deſerve this praife, that that language being ſo hard, and they having the letters too to be ſtudied which are not very eaſie, yet they do ſpeak that language much better, than any others do thoſe, of their *Missions*; for of themſelves they are able to catechife, preach, treate, and conuerſe with the greatest *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, and to ſpeak to the King himſelf, if there were occaſion, without making uſe of any ones tongue, but their own; their endeavours in this particular being extraordinary, and ſuch, as are not uſed in other parts: and our Lord by his ſingular provi- dence doth ſweat this labour, and leaſon thoſe difficulties they undergo for his ſake with much joy and conſolation. Moreover, there is to be a generall change throughout their whole bodies; in their beard and their haire, which they muſt ſuffer to grow very longe, in the fashion of their cloathes, in their manner of conuerſation, in their customes and behaviour, and all other things, which are as diſferent, as they are remote from ours.

Besides all these ordinarie difficulties, (which are found more or lesse,

in all *Missions*) it is not to be beleived, how sharp a warre the devil hath rai-
sed up against this; endeavouring by the strength of difficulties and per-
secutions to make us desist from the enterprise: and it went so farre, that
Father *Valignan* the Visitour, considering the great obstructions we found
every where, the extraordinarie difficultie there was to enter, and the
great trouble there was to stay there, how little good we could do there,
and yet how much we suffered, resolved to call back the Fathers to *Macau*,
to employ them in some other *Missions* of lesse danger and trouble, and
where a greater profit of Soules might be made. But the Lord, who had
otherwise ordained it for the good of his elect, would not suffer the La-
bourers to come away, and leave the work begun in that Kingdome, where
it was to have so advantageous a progressse.

C H A P. 2.

*Of the proceedings, and persecutions
of the Fathers, before they ar-
rived at Nankim.*

The Fathers did still persevere in the Resolution they had taken to enter and settle themselves in China; and accordingly three times the same year they attempted with all diligence to make their entire, but were as often repulsed, and sent back out of the Kingdome, with that resentment and grief, which is easily imaginable they had, to find almost every spark of hope extinguished by such extraordinary difficulties, as they found, and by that great aversion, the Chineses had to admit of strangers.

I have been told, that about that time, Father Valignan looking one day out of a window of the Colledge of Macao toward the Continent, the good old man cried out with a loud voice, and the most intimate affection of his heart, speaking to China, *Ah Rock, Rock, when wilt thou open, Rock?* But (as there is no councill against God, who seeth and knoweth the times and moments of his divine Resolutions,) when the entrance seemed more shut up than ever, and more encompassed with difficulties, after so many attempts and endeavours had been frustrated, nay, after they had been sharply reproved by the Vice-roy of Canton, and by publick order been sent back to Macao; then did the Lord our God open the gate by such meanes as were not to be imagined.

The Fathers had not been full seven daies returned to Macao, wholy despairing of the busynesse, when there arrived a messenger from the governour of *Cantone*, named *Chi Fu*, bringing letters from the *Vice-roy*, where he invited the Fathers to *Xaokin*, the Capitall Citie of *Cantone*, where the same *Vice-roy* of the Provinces of *Cantone* and *Quansi*, had his residence; offering them there a place for their Church and House.

The Fathers entered into Xaakim in September 1583. with so little joy to see

see themselves established in a moment, where before with all their endeavours they could never so much as set their foot. They built a house and Church, and gave a beginning to their intention, by translating the ten Commandments, as well as they could, into the Chinese language, and setting forth, how necessary the obseruance of them was. The worth of these new guests was more admired in the City, for their good works and holinesse of life, than for their words, not being able yet to speak that language sufficiently; but almost continuall troubles and persecutions were never wanting to them. The covering of their house was so loaden with stones by the insolence of the people from a neighbouring Tower, that they were in great danger of their lives: and, because a servant of the house laid hold of a little boy, and threatened to complaine of him, presently an accusation was set on foot against the Fathers, that they had misused the *Sonne* of a *Citizen*: but in the end they were cleared by evidence of the fact: soone after, other calumnies were raised against them, particularly against Father *Kaggiero*, whom they accused of *Adultery*; but his innocence was soone cleared, it being proved, that he was at that time more than two months journey from the place, where that crime was said to be committed. Then did the people of *Xaokin* begin to throwing of stones againe, with which they did so ruine and batter the house, that the Fathers missed very little of being killed: all this while did their condition seeme like unto a tempestuous sea. But amongst so great tribulations and dangers, the Lord was pleased to send them some daies of peace and tranquilitie, and among so many thorns they gathered some roses, and some fruit of their labours: which was the reaon that their sufferings did not seeme so grievous to them, neither did they undergo them without joy and delight, hoping to make a greater progresse, when the desired calme should happen. Neither were the Fathers wanting (particularly Father *Mattheus Riccius*), by their knowledge in *Mathematiques*, and principally by a description of the world in a new *Mappe*, to give reputation to the affaires of *Europe*, and to make acquaintance and friendship with persons of qualitie, when behold, by the coming of a new *Vice-roy* there was so terrible a storme raised, that notwithstanding all the diligence and addresses which were made, not only by the Fathers, but also by their friends, it was impossible to finde any remedy, or to put a stop to the sentense, which that *Vice-roy* fulminated against the Fathers; which was, That they should all immediately returne to *Macao*, without giving them any time of stay there, or suffering them to go into any other Country; but that they should prently depart, and should be brought precipitely to *Macao*. They were forced to yeeld obedience, and so leaving some things belonging to the house in the hands of their friends, and carrying other things along with them, after they had made a short prayer unto God, recommending unto him that little flock, which they were forced to leave among Wolves without a shepherd, and after they had exhorted the Christians to continue steadfast in the faith, wherein they had been severall years instructed, they departed downe the current of the river; both the Christians, which remained there, as also the Fathers, who tooke their leave, weeping very much, & recommending each other to the divine Province and Protection.

When they were arrived at the Metropolis of *Canton*, the Admirall of the *Chinese* Navie, or *Hai-tao*, who was to conduct them to *Macao*, was not to be found: where, while they stayed to expect him, they wrote to the *Visitour in Macao*, that after two or three daies they were to be banished by order of the *Vice-roy*: but they had hardly passed a day there, when they espied a boate coming toward them with all speed, sent from the *Vice-roy*, to invite them back againe to *Xaokim*. It seemed to them, that they were returned from death to life by the unexpected invitation; although they understood well enough, that they were called backe to undergo new troubles, no leſſe than the former. When they were returned to the *Viceroy* at *Xaokim*, he would have paid the charges the Fathers had been at in building their Church and house, which by no means they would suffer him to do; and (after severall contrats) they obtained leave of him to dwell in another City belonging to his Government, called *Xaochen*. With this permission the Fathers departed from *Xaokim* on the 15th. day of *August* 1589, and being after a few daies arrived at *Xaochen*, they had enough to do to avoyd the lodgings, which were offered them in a *Monasterie* of *Bonzi*. At length by Gods assistance they were admitted into the City, and were well loopt upon by the *Magistrates*; they built a house and Church, and began to preach the *Gospel* with their whole endeavours. Notwithstanding that, they were ever accompanied with persecutions, contrats and calumnies, and in truth, it is hardy to be beleeved, how many of these they did undergo, I did once reckon them up to satisfie my curiositie: counting those which are related in the History of Father *Tri-gaulius*, and others which are not set downe there, till the persecution of *Nankim*, I found them in all to be fifty foure, the greatest part were at the beginning, and in the Province of *Canton*, which as it is a paſſage to the rest, may be called the *Promontory of Torments*; so that as oft as we shall have occasion to mention it, there will alwaies recure some new troubles and tempeſts.

Our servants were many times taken and *Baptized* for no other occation, but that they had defended themselves against assaults of the insolent people; and one time also brother *Sebastian Fernandes*, who went out to defend those innocents with reasones and prayers, was put to publique shame. But the persecution was worse, which brother *Francis Martines* suffered through a vaine suspition they had, that he had attempted to raiſe a rebellion in *China*, and that he was a Magician: upon which occation after he had been many times beaten and tormented, and after a tedious and noyfome imprisonment, and in the end, after his last punishment by an unmercifull beating, being brought back into the prison, he died, a death so much the more glorious, by how much it was supported by an unspeakable patience, and for so holy an occation, as the procuring the salvation of that people was. After that, brother *Francis Mendez*, going to the *Metropolis of Canton* upon occation of busynesse, and to help a servant of ours, who was kept there in prison, suffered very much: for being come into the prison, the *Gaoler* presently clapt Manacles upon him, and suspecting him to be a Priest, pulled off his cap, and searched whether his crowne was shaven or no: and finding no signe of any thing he could lay hold on, only

only because he was a *Christian*, and belonged to the Fathers, he suffered him not to go out of the prison, till there were bestowed many cruell Bastinadoes on him. Likewise two Fathers going from *Canton* further up into *China*, that is, Father *Julius Lewis*, and another Father, were apprehended, and after very great sufferings set at libertie.

The Christian Religion began to make ſome progreſſe at our Refiſtance of *Xaochu*; and in another place neere unto it, named *Namhim*, whither Father *Mattheus Riccius* was gone, and had reduced ſome Gentiles to the ſheepfold of Christ. But the buiſneſſe was ſo full of difficulties and dangers, that brother *Sebastian Fernandes*, (although a *Chinese* by nation, (but brought up in *Macao* by his Parents who were *Christians*;) and who entred into our ſocietie after he was growne a man, and a rich Merchant, and ſerved therein many years, even to his death, with great paines to himſelfe and a great example to all that Christianitie,) told the Father, we ſhould do well to go to *Giappone*; ſeeing the Lord did favour that Kingdom with ſo great a conuerſion, and ſo many Baptiſmes, and ſpend our liues there where we might receiue abundant fruit of our labours. But the Father, who had a more lively faith, and a hope better grounded, ſeemed to have anſwered him by the ſpirit of propheſie, that which afterwards came to paffe, giving him hopes of more copious fruit, ſuch as we find at this day: And even at that time alſo, within fourre years, wherein he had culivated that vine-yard, in ſpite of thoſe great Tribulations, he made a good harveſt of many *Christians*; who many times do prove the beſt in times of trouble and perſecution: and there were ſome of them very eminent, with ſome of which I have ſince ſpoken and conuerſed, who ſeemed to me, to be like *Christians* of the Primitive Time; and by degrees there were many more alſo converted.

In the mean while about the year 1594 two persons of this House de parted to a better life; for if the people of this Province are not good, the temper of the aire is much worse. Till this time, the Fathers had gone in the ſame garbe they entred in, with their beards and the crowne of their heads ſhaven, and their haire cut ſhort, as we weare it here in *Europe*; and there alſo the *Bonzi*, or Priests of their Idols, who in that kingdome, contrarie to the cuſtome of others, are in very mean eſteem. But now they were better acquainted with the ſtate of things there, it ſeemed to them to be more advantageous for the credit of our religion, as alſo for the preachers thereof, that they ſhould take a habit diſferent from the *Bonzi*: and that ſeeing they were inwardly unlike them, that they ſhould no longer outwardly reſemble them, eſpecially, ſeeing that firſt outward form was a great impediment to hinder them from treating with *Decorum* and familiarity, with Officers and men of qualitie, who without the veſture of courtesie and habit of a *Letterati*, do by no means admit any one to familiar conuerſation with them. So that leaving their former garbe and habit, they took the other of *Letterati*, with a great applaueſe of the Christians and their friends; as alſo of the *Magistrates*; and because they had taken no degree in their learning, they were accounted and eſteemed, (as they are alſo at this day,) for *Letterati* of *Europe*; beſides many other good advantages and effects which it produced.

In May the year following, Father *Mattheus Riccius*, went to *Nankim*, in the companie of a *Mandarine*, who was a grave Person and his friend, who went thither with commission to be General in the warre against the *Giapponeses* in the Kingdome of *Corea*; he wanted not troubles by the way, especially in a dangerous shipwreck which he suffered, the barge being overturned, and the Father falling into the water over head and ears, not having any skill in swimming, nor any hope of life. But the Lord assisted him with his paternal providence: for without knowing how it came, there he found a rope of the Barque in his hand, by which he was pulled up: nevertheless he lost his companion, who being carried away by the force and violence of the water, was never more seen.

At length he arrived at *Nankim*; but the houre of that famous Citie was not yet come. Wherefore although some friends there did desire to favour him; yet one, with whom he had contracted in *Cantone*, and whose favour he did now endeavour to gain, was not only wanting to him in what he requested, but was so far changed from what he was, that he put the Father in great danger; and was the occasion, that he was disgracefully sent out of the Citie; and all this upon no other account, but lest it should be said, that he was the occasion of the Fathers coming thither, contrarie to the lawes of *China*.

The Father departed from *Nankim*, and went into the Province of *Kiansi*, which lieth between that of *Nankim* and that of *Cantone*, he was received into the Capitall Citie thereof, named *Nanchun*, and treated very kindly by the most considerable people there; and especially by a great Lord, named *Kien Gam Yam*, who was the Kings neer kinsman. He was also very courteously used by the *Vice-roy*, with no ordinary demonstrations of kindnesse, which was none of the least occasions that a residence was founded in this City; then, Father *Riccius* using all diligence to obtain leave to set up a House there, the Lord provided him of a companion, named *Jacobus Socris*, sent from *Macao* very opportunely to reside there; and then presently they purchased some few small houses in this City; but not without the usual resistance and contradiction of the neighbourhood, as also from other parts; which in proesse of time did so encrease, that this House may well compare with that of *Xaocheu* for persecutions: for if the people of that City are bad, truly, they of this City are not very good. The Fathers were sometimes molested by the *Letterati*; otherwhiles by the *Nobilite*; of which sort there are many still residing in this City: they were troubled also by the people; and sometimes by the Christians themselves. For there is never wanting a Judas to raise persecution among the good disciples. Nevertheless, it pleased God to make that House, and Christianity there to flourish, and to bring into them many persons of qualtie, and particularly that neer Kinsman of the King, with his whole House and Familiie; who by his holy life and other vertues did much edifie that Church. And though he had no children, while he was a Gentile, yet it pleased the Lord to send him many, after he was become a Christian. There were also many other Families converted, which, although they were inferiour to his in bloud, yet did they not come much behind him in Christian Pietie.

After

After that Father *Riccius* had a companion, to whose care he might leave that Houfe recommended, he began to undertake afresh the enterprise of *Nankim*: and he had a good opportunitie offered him by a *Mandarine* of qualtie, and his friend, who took him along in his company. By this meanes he returned again to that City in the year 1598, and although at the beginning, by reason of the warre, which the *Giapponeses* made against the Kingdome of *Corea*, threatening also that of *China*, he found great difficultie to be admitted (for these two alwayes go together) yet at length it was facilitated by the good success of *Corea*, and the friendship of some persons of Qualtie, and of the *Vice-roy* himself, the Divine providence alwayes opening that way, which he knew was most secure.

Of what happened after, till the Fathers entred into Pekim.

Father *Mattheus Riccius* never ceased to endeavour a finall establishment of the Church in that Kingdome, which did wholly depend upon the entrance of the Fathers into the Royall City of *Pekim*, where the King and chief Court do reside: and so after he had assayed diverse meanes, at length he resolved to go thither in the company of the same *Mandarine* his friend, who had brought him to *Nankim*, and so he took no house at that time in *Nankim*. He departed then along with Father *Laceras Cataneus* his companion, and two *Chinasses* who were Brethren, taking their way by water, which was above a moneths voyage, although the *Mandarine* got thither in a shorter time by land.

But at length being arrived at *Pekim*, without any hinderance or disturbance, the first thing they did, was to go waite upon their friend, who had caused them to come thither, and was arrived there before them. He received them with all kindnesse and civilitie, and endeavoured to favour and assist them in every thing, & especially in recommending them to the acquaintance of an *Eunuch* his friend. The Fathers had brought with them some curiosities of *Europe*, to make a Present of them to the King, to wit, Two excellent Pictures Painted on Linnen cloath, the one of our *Saviour*, the other of the *B. Virgin*, an *Harpisicon*, an instrument which had never been heard, a striking *Clock*, a thing which had never been seen there before, and some triangular glasses, with all which the *Eunuch* was well pleased: but not finding that gain from the Fathers, which he expected, and which was the only thing he lookt after, he excused himself, that he could not present them to the King, by reason of the troubles of the war, which the *Giapponeses* made upon *Corea*, and which were every day expected in *China*, saying, that it was not a fising time to speake to the King about strangers affaires. Of the same opinion also was that *Mandarine* their friend, who being to returne to *Nankim*, where he had a Government bestowed upon him, would willingly have carried the Fathers back again with him. But it seemed better to them, that the Hopes which they had

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conceived, should not be so soon lost; nor so much labour and expence be cast away in vain: wherefore they remained in *Pekim* above a moneth after the departure of the *Mandarine*, using all endeavours, and seeking out all wayes possible, to see if they could compasse their intention. But all their diligence was in vain, for the *Mandarine* being once gone, all the rest withdraw themselves; so that there was not one of the *Mandarines* of the Court, that would admit them so much as to a Visite.

The difficulties then being so great, and they finding no way to overcome them, the Fathers were forced to retурne into that Country, where they were more known, and had been better received; and so they came back to *Nankim*, but not with so much ease, as they thought they should have done. For the Winter overtaking them in their voyage, and the River being frozen up, they were forced to winter by the way.

But Father *Mattheus Riccius*, being loath to lose any opportunitie, left his companions in the Barque, and took his way by land, avoyding by this means the trouble and hinderance of the Wintering, but not the cold of the journey, which was so excessive, that many times it hindred him from going forward. But at length having overcome all difficulties, he arrived at the Cite of *Szechuan*, which without all contradiction, is the most pleasant and delightfull City of all *China*; so that they have a proverbe which saith, That the City of *Szechuan & Hanchew*, is that upon earth, which the habitation of the blessed, is in heaven. It is situated in a pleafant River of fresh Water, just as *Venice* is in the Sea: it hath the greatest traffique of all the Kingdome, the Merchandise from *Maca* being first brought thither, from whence they are afterwards dispersed to all other parts.

Here the Father found *Quialao*, his ancient friend, in the Province of *Canton*, by whom he was received with all manner of kindnesse and friend-shipe, and was also by him introduced and brought into credit with the ship, and was also by him introduced and brought into credit with the *Mandarine*, who was a whole City. And being the Sonse of a principal *Mandarine*, he was a great help to him in gaining the friendship of severall *Mandarines* of great authoritie; for which and other good turnes he did us in *Canton* and other places, and especially in *Nankim*, he deserueth no small commendation and acknowledgment. The Father gave him a triangular glasse, which by his friend was taken for so precious a Jewel, that he tipp'd both the ends of it with Gold, and made a Case of Silver to put it in; and after sold it for above 500. Crownes. This honest man much desired, that the Father would settel himself in that Cite, and found a House there, where he might affit and promote him with more convenience; propofing many difficulties which would hinder the residence of the Fathers at *Nankim*. Nevertheless, having weighed things better, and taking that resolution, which was most suitable to their occasions, they went both of them to *Nankim*, in the year 1599. where they found the state of affairs much altered from what it was the time before.

The Cite did now enjoy a profound peace and tranquillity, the *Giaoponeses* being beaten back into their own Countries. The *Mandarine* their friend was very glad of their coming, and did them many singular favours, as did also many others, both Magistrates, and other grave men and persons of account in that Cite, particularly a *Cali*, which is a kind of

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Censor or *Syndic royall*, named *Choxelim*: wherefore the Father, not only by their consent, but also by their perfwasion, resolved to settle a residence, and found a House in that Noble City, which is the second of the whole Kingdome.

While the Father made his abode there, he gave great prooфе of himself and of the Sciences of *Europe*; particularly of the *Mathematices*. He made a new Mappe of the World, with the explanation thereof in the *Chinese* language and characters, which gained great reputation, not only to the authour, but also to *Europe*, seeing there such a multitude of Noble Kingdomes and Cities: so that the same *Quialao*, and others, with very *Solemn Ceremonies*, made themselves Disciples to Father *Riccius*. Neither was the autoritie lesse which the Father gained by the publick Disputes, which he held concerning matters of Religion, wherein, to the admiration of all the Councils, he ever had the Vitorie: so that the Fathers came to such a height of reputation, that they were celebrated by many *Letterati* in *Epigrams* and *Elegies*.

In the meane time the companions of Father *Riccius* arrived, after they had wintered by the way, and endured many labours and hardships. But when they found the Father, in that City, where a little before he was not only not received, but also driven out with ignominie and shame, now to have such credit and applause, and so many friends who favoured him, they forgot all their former sufferings, and gave most hearty thanks to the Lord our God for that preuent prosperitie. Not long after, they began to think of buying an House: for, that wherein they lived, was only hired. Many were offered to them; but such for the most part as were inconvenient for them, among which there was one that was very large and capacious, but haunted with *Divells* and *Phantasmes*, so that none durst dwell in it. This inconvenience useth commonly to be advantageous to us; for wee not fearing these spirits, which vanish at the first on-set, doe commonly purchase such houses at a very low rate; and so it happened to Father *Riccius*: wherefore after the bargain and sale was concluded, the Fathers came over a while to dwell in that house, where they lived very quietly without receiving any disturbance or inconvenience from those spirits.

Afsoon as the Fathers had their House and Church, there were not wanting thole who did frequent it. The first who was baptiz'd in this City, was an old man of seventy years of age, he was a *Noble man*, and had the office of *Chinoci*, whereof we speake, when we treated of that *Nobility*, which descendeth by way of blood. Presently his sonne followed him, who was already a *Letterato*, and was afterward made a great *Mandarine*, and also his whole Famillie, his Grand-Sonnes and Daughters &c. I knew them many yeares afterwards, when they had made great progres in Virtue and Christian Peticie, and are therefore worthy of Eternal memorie, with many particular cafes, whereof we shall make mention hereafter. This Famillie was followed by others, the number of Christians still encræsing, as also their zeale to good works; especially after the perſecution, whereof we will speak anon. So that it may be said to be the best *Christianitie of China*, although the most perſecuted and moleſted.

The affaires of *Nankim* succeeding thus prosperously, and these good beginnings shewing that that Houfe would not only continue, but also be enlarged and advanced, Father *Riccius* sent one of his companions, F. *Lazarus Casaner* to *Macao*, partly to give an account to the superiors of what had passed, partly to get some curiosities of *Europe* to make Presents of; and partly to seek out some new companions to labour in that plentiful haruest.

The Father arrived at *Macao* with these glad tidings, which were received with that joy which was fitting; and shortly after, having procured some Presents for the King, and a fresh recruit of other Fathers, he returned to *Nankim*, where Father *Riccius* staid for him: who having his whole desires set upon *Pekim*, after he had received the Presents, and a fresh supply of companions, deferred no longer to begin his second voyage for *Pekim*; having not only the opinions, but also the propitious assistance of some principall *Mandarines*, in his favour.

It was the sixteenth day of May, in the year 1600, when the Fathers *Mathias Riccius*, and *Didacus Pantos*, and brother *Sebastian Fernandes* departed the second time for the Court, in the same manner as before, by water, having accommodation given them in a barque belonging to an Eunuch; who the more he conversed with the Fathers, had still the more affection for them.

Having passed the Province of *Nankim*, and being come into that of *Xantum*, in the City where the Vice-roy of that Province doth reside, Father *Riccius* was received with extraordinary respect by that Vice-roy. He was visited in the barque, presented, and very much made off. The memoriall, or petition, which he intended to present to the King, was mended for him, and put into a better form, and last of all, he had many letters of recommendation given him to the *Mandarines* of *Pekim*. This Vice-roy had some knowledge of Father *Riccius* by means of a son of his, who had very frequently and familiarly conversed with the Father at *Nankim*, and had heard from him many things concerning our Religion.

Their voyage continued very prosperous, without any considerable obstruction, untill they came to a City, where there was an Eunuch named *Mahan*, who was Collectour of the Kings customs and rights, and of many wrongs also, which he did to most passengers, and was accounted a wicked cruell man. He was very often visited by the Eunuch, in whose company the Fathers travelled, with his hands laden with Presents, but could never be admitted, because his gifts were not proportionable to the greediness of that Harpye. And because the time grew neare, wherein if he came not to Court, he should be in great danger, not only of his goods, but of his life also; he refolved to betray the Fathers, to free himselfe: And to that purpose informed the Eunuch, that those strangers carried Presents for the King, which he had seen; adding withall, that they might possibly have other things of greater price, out of which *Mahan* might make a great advantage to himselfe. Upon this occasion the Fathers runne a great hazard, not only to lose what they had, but also to be killed, being left in the hands of that covetous, cruell wretch. For the Eunuch *Mahan*, although at the beginning he shewed himselfe something courteous

courteous, yet it was not long, ere it was manifest, what intentions he had towards them. First he desired only to see the Presents which they carried, and accordingly the Fathers shewed them him with all courtesie and respect: after that, he would needs take the charge upon him of presenting them to the King: Another time he carried them to his Palace, after that the King had answered to his Memoriall, that he should write him word, what thole things were which came to be presented to him. Last of all, *Mahan* came with above200 men armed, who were just so many theives, and he their Captaine; and without any termes of respect, or courtesie, but with a furious countenance, ranfack'd all their goods, and in a great rage laid by whatsoever pleased him. When he saw any thing that had not been shewn him before, he would cry out, as if he had been robbed, but especially he made most horrible exclamations, when he had found a Crucifix, saying, That they were to make use of it in their enchantments and conjurations, wherewith they purposed to kill the King. To which the Father answered with all modesty, declaring to him the *Sacred mystery*, which was represented by that Image: But the Eunuch not admitting of any reason at all, cried out, That such deceivers as they ought to be severely punished. In conclusion, having taken whatsoever liked him, he made an inventory of all, together with the Presents that were for the King, and sent them all, along with the Fathers into the Fort, where they had a continual guard upon them. The Fathers were much dejected by this accident, fearing to lose in one moment all that they had thitherto gaignt with so much sweat.

Yet did they not lose the confidence, which they had in Gods assistance, whereof they had had so frequent experience: and therefore seeing themselves deprived of all humane help, they wholly cast themselves into the arms of the divine providence, and with prayers and mortifications, did by a holy violence wrestle with the divine mercy, that he would vouchafe to turne his eyes toward the salvation of so many soules, that had been redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, the which, as it seemed probable to them, wholly depended upon the successe of that expedition. They sent a servant to the City with letters to another Eunuch, wherein they desired his favour to procure them leave to present those things to the King, believing, that because it was a busynesse, wherein he might gaine favour and esteeme from the King, the Eunuch would very willingly undertake it. But whether it were for feare of *Mahan*, or that he were already pre-possest by him, the answere was, to mis-use the servant both with words, and with blowes.

They fought yet another expedient to endeavour to get out of that misery. They writ to a *Mandarine*, who had shewed himselfe very friendly to them, before they fell into this tribulation, and had really favoured them upon severall occasions: But he also seeing the letter, was afraid to accept of it; neither would he retorne any answer; nevertheless he told our servant, that the Fathers were in as dangerous a condition as might be: for the Eunuch was resolued to present a Memoriall to the King against them, wherein he would declare, that they did designe to take away the Kings life by witchcraft, as also many other things in their prejudice, to discredit

discredit them, and colour his owne imposture; wherefore his opinion was, that they shoule endeavour by any means possible, to make their escape, and to get back againe to *Canton*; and that they shoule esteeme it a great gaine to lose all they had, so they might escape that death, which hung over them, while they were in the hands of that cruell *Eunuch*. And if they were not either able, or willing, to put this in execution, at least they shoule endeavour to get a *Memoriall* presented to the King, by the means of some *Mandarine* at Court, who was their friend.

You may well imagine, in what condition the Fathers were at this message, and how apprehensive they were of the danger they were in: yet would they not accept of the first counsell, lest, being innocent, they might make themselves guilty by their flight; esteeming it a lese misfortune, to suffer for righteousness sake, than to give occasion to those who knew them not, to believe those things probable, which the *Eunuch* layd to their charge. But the second counsell seemed more reasonable unto them, and therefore they presently dispatched toward the Court. Brother *Sebastian Fernandes* with letters to their friends, to give them an account of the condition they were in: But as in such cases, there are few friends to be found, so there was none there, who would give them any assistance, wherefore the brother returned without having done any thing. Then did the Fathers well perceive, that there was now no longer any remedy left them in their owne industrie, in their friends, and in humane counsells; neither would they try any other means, but submitting themselves wholly to the will of God, did cheerfully expect what issue the Lord would be pleased to send them of their businesse.

Six months had the Fathers remained in that imprisonment, expecting the assistance of the Lord, by whom only they could be succoured. When beyond all thought of theirs, and without their knowledge, there cometh a decree from the King, wherein they are called to Court, with their Present. They say, the King himselfe one day, without being put in minde of it by any body, calling to his remembrance the *Eunuchs Memoriall*, asked where that Bell was, which rang of it selfe; and which, as they tell me, is brought me by a stranger? To which the *Eunuch*, who always waiteth upon him, answered, That it was not yet come to Court, because his Majestie had not given order for it to come. Whereupon the King presently gave order for it, and *Mathan* was forced against his will to send the Fathers with their Present, and the rest of their goods. They began then to take heart againe, and forgetting all their former troubles, they immediately set out upon their journy; and because they could not do it by water by reason the river was frozen up, they tooke their way by land, receiving from the *Mandarines*, at the Kings expence, whatsoever they had need of, both for their owne persons, as also for the carriage of their goods.

CHAP.

CHAP.4.

The Fathers enter into Pekim, and settle there.

THe Fathers entred into *Pekim* on the fourth day of January 1601, where they were well received, and entertained in a Palace, which an *Eunuch* had lent them for that purpose. They made ready their Present, and the day following with a great traine and *Parade*, the *Eunuchs* carried it into the Palace, and presented it to the King; who made great account of every thing. He did highly prize the pictures of our *Saviour* and of the *Blessed Virgin*, he much admired the *Harpicon*; and presently gave order, that some of the *Eunuchs* should learne to play upon it. When he came to the Clock, which was a piece of much skill and workmanship, and an invention altogether unknowne to the *Chinies*, because he knew it struck the hours of its owne accord, and that at present it was not in order, nor so much as to shew, he commanded that the Fathers should presently come into the Palace, and set it a going. So they were called in haste, and admitted within the second wall (for within the third and fourth, none may enter, unlesse it be the *Eunuchs*, and the Souldiers of the night-guard,) where by the Kings order given to one of the chiefe *Eunuchs*, the Fathers were received and entertained with all magnificence and courtesie.

They stayed there three daies, partly fitting the Clock to serve for the present; (for afterwards for the greater state there was a Tower of wood made for it of much cost and workmanship,) partly in teaching tour *Eunuchs* how to set and order it; and partly in satisfying such demands, as were made them concerning *Europe*, what kinde of Countrey it was, what Kingdoms, what people, what customes it had, and a thousand other particularities, which were all afterwards by the *Eunuchs* related to the King, who was much delighted therewith, seeming to be very much satisfied with every thing: he much desired to see the Fathers, but because he would not change the ancient stile and custome of the Kingdom, according to which the King is never to be seen by any stranger; he caused their pictures to be drawne at length, contenting himselfe, to see only the figures of those men, of whom he himselfe might not be seen.

All things succeeded prosperously, by reason of the great satisfaction, which all they of the Palace received from the Fathers, and especially by reason of the contentment the King tooke in every thing; and the delight with which he received the Presents, so that now all seemed to be secure, and that there was nothing more to feare. But there being no security, or calme, that is long lasting in this world, the Fathers quickly found themselves in new troubles; the occasion whereof was a *Mandarine* of the *Tribunal Lipu*, to whom it belonged by virtue of his office, to have had the Present brought to him, and by his means, to have had it presented to the King, he being to assist at all Embassies, and Presents, that are offered to his Majestie. He therefore taking ill, that the Fathers, who knew nothing

thing of this, had made use of the *Eunuchs* to carry their Present to the King, contrary to the ordinary stile of the Court, and without making any mention of those Officers, presently fell upon the weakest part, and commanded the Fathers to be apprehended, and put into the *House of strangers*, in a more discourteous manner than was usual. The Officers and Sergeants having used more insolence in the apprehending them, than perhaps they were commanded to doe. Upon this occasion they were brought before the *Tribunal*, and examined in publick, although by their answers their cause was sufficiently justified, and the passion of the Judge something moderated.

They had not been above three daies, when they were sent for thence to the palace, to perform the ordinary *Ceremonies* in the Court of courtesies, whereof we have spoken in the first part. The very same day they were againe examined by the publick Notaries, by order of the same President concerning many other things. The poynt they most insisted on, was ; to what end they were come into *China*: what their intentions were, and what they did pretend by the Present which they had given the King? The Fathers judged it necessary to answer cleerly and in forme, and therefore told them; That they came to preach the law of the true God, who was sole Lord and Goverour of heaven and earth. And that they had brought that Present to the King, nor that they did pretend any thing by it, either office, dignitie, or recompence, but as a Testimony of the obedience they ought him, having been inhabitants, for so many years, of that Kingdom ; and that all they did desire, was to have leave to live and die in that Court, or in any other part of the Kingdom, which the King should thinke fit, as they had already lived there many years.

The Notaries having drawn up this answer, carried it to the *President*, who having seen and considered it, drew up his *Memoriall* thereupon to the King, partly in favour of the Fathers, and partly against them. But the King being well affected towards them, because there was something in it against the Fathers, gave no answer to it, which is there the same thing as to reject it: But the Fathers understood by the *Eunuchs*, that the King was much troubled, when he knew, they were kept as prisoners in the *House of strangers*.

The *Mandarine* seeing there was no answer given to his petition, presently judged the King was inclined to favour the strangers, wherefore he thought it fit to change his stile towards them, using them with all courtesie and kindenes, and commanded they should be better provided for in every thing, than the rest of the strangers, who were kept there. And contrary to the law and custome of that restraint, he gave them libertie to go into the City about their affaires, and to visit their friends. But withall he presented a second *Memoriall* to the King concerning the Fathers, wherein he did not only say nothing against them, but positively commended their persons, and their good behaviour, and manner of life : only there was this evill in it, that he besought him to send them away from *Pekim*, because it was against his lawes, that strangers should inhabit in the Court. But because the *Eunuchs*, who had care of the Clock, were afraid of the absence of the Fathers, because the ordering of it depended on their directions,

directions, and the King also had a desire they should stay, this second *Memoriall* likewise received no answer.

In the meane while the Fathers, having libertie to go abroad when they pleased, frequently Visited the *Mandarines*, made new friends, and treated with those of the Councel of Rites, called *Lipu*, before whom their businesse was, that they would be pleased in their *Memorialls*, to signifie that they thought it fit that the Fathers should be permitted to reside in *Pekim*, telling them, that they might plainly perceive, that the king refused to give an answer to them, because he was willing they should stay there. But they still obstinately oppofed that point, and accordingly in their third, and many other *Memorialls*, which they presented concerning the Fathers, although in the whole or at least the greater part they seemed to favour them; yet in that, which concerned their stay at Court, they were alwayes excluded; but in the like manner the kings answer was alwayes suspended, there never comming any decree from him, eyther for or against them.

The Fathers perceiving this long delay, and whence it came, desired in the meane time to be freed from that restraint, which is imposed upon all strangers; wherefore they obtained by means of certain *Mandarines*, who were their friends, the favour to be discharged from that place, untill the King should return his answer unto the fore-said *Memorialls*, and to have leave to hire a House for themselves. This was a new thing and wholly different from the stile of *China*, and therefore so difficult that it was accounted impossible to be done without a particular order from the King. But when God would have it so, all things are easily brought about; and so this licence was obtained, rather as a thing granted from Heaven, than acquired by humane industrie on earth. The Fathers then had ful leave to go out of that walled place: they hired a House, and began to live in it, as if they had been natives of that Countrie,

The Fathers then seeing themselves in that condition which was much better than what they could hitherto obtain, presently endeavoured with all their might to get their settlement at the Court secured, that none might be able to trouble them any more upon that account; understanding very well, how much the securitie of their other houses depended upon their personall residence at that Court. Nevertheless with all the diligence that they themselves, and severall *Mandarines* their friends, could use, they were never able to obtain a decree for it: it is true, they were assured by the *Eunuchs*, that the King had said, that they might dwel securely at the Court, and that they should by no meanes think of returning to the Southern Provinces; for if they did, he should be displeased at it.

This answer was very sufficient, and being authorized with the Kings name, served instead of a decree absolutely to secure their habitation there: another favour also being added to this, by which it was more confirmed, and that was the appointing by the Kings own order, to have a competent pension allowed the Fathers out of his exchequer, for the maintenance of themselves, and foure Servants, which allowance they were to receive quarterly. By these favours, and the friendship of the *Eunuchs* of the Palace, and of some principall *Mandarines*, their habitation

was not only secured, but brought into such credit, that their friends encreated dailie, and the people flocked continually to our House, some to see strangers, some to heare something concerning our Sciences, and some to understand the truth of our holy Law : and this was that which was most pleasing to the Fathers, and most profitable to the *Chineſſes*.

Among the Principall *Mandarines*, who at this beginning contracted friendship with the Fathers, there was one, who was named *Ligo Zyn*. He was a Native of the City of *Hamchew*, a man of great Talents and ingenuitie, and was known to be ſuch through the whole Kingdome; at the examinations for the degree of *Dottour*, where in that degree is given to about 300, he obtained the fifth place, which is a very great reputation among them. He was extreamly curious, and being affiſted by his own naturall ingenuitie, and the friendſhip of Father *Mattheus Riccius*, he learned many curioſities in the *Mathematiques*. He translated ſeverall of the Fathers Books into the *Chineſſe* language; and whilſt he was yet a *Gentile* he put our Catechisme into an excellent Stile. It is reported of him, that when he was Compoſing of it, ſeeing the powerful reaſons which were brought in that Book to prove the Sanctitie of our Religion, that although he did not believe them to be true, he cryed out, *what an excellent piece is this and how accuratly Compoſed!* But in time he began to penetrate better into them, and at length acknowledging them to be true, he refolued to become a *Christian*: but his deſire not being capable to be put in effect at that time in his own perfon, by reaſon of that inconvenience of his having many Wives (which in *China* is the ordinarie hindrance and obſtruction in men of that *Qualtie*) nevertheless he would have his whole Familiē Baptized; and he himſelf, after he had ſetled and jouſted his affaires, as was requisite for that purpoſe, was Chriſtened alſo, and naimed *Leo*; and is the fame who is ſo frequently mentioned in the yearly Letters, for his Pietie and zeal, and for being one of the Supporters and Pillars of that Chriſtianitie, carrying himſelf in ſuch manner, that by his example and perſuasion he gained many perſons of *Qualtie* to our holy faith, among which number a grave perſon, named *Michael*, was one, who is alſo often mentioned in the letters, and of whom we ſhall ſpeak, when it commeth to his turne.

When he was now become a *Christian*, he governed in ſeverall places of the Kingdome, but alwayes with that obſervance, which was due to the Religion he profeffed. Among other honourable employmens, he had the Office of *Tanli* (which is a place of great honour and profit) in the Cittie of *Caoje* in the Province of *Nankim*, he found in the Palace there, a Chappel full of Idols, which the curioſity, or devotion of his predeceſſours, had preferred and adorned with extraordinary care and coſt. The devout *Leo* judging it not convenient to have ſuch ill company in the Houſe where he dwelt, commanded his Servants, to throw down thoſe Idols from the Alters where they stood, and to hew them to pieces with Hatchets, and after that they were given to the Cook, to conſume them in the fire with all their Gold about them. The officers of his Tribunall, as Secretaries, Sergeants, and others were alſtonished at it, and looking one upon another, ſaid, ſure our *Caoje*, (for ſo they call their

their *Mandarine*) is out of his witts, for understanding that indeed he had ſhewed this more in that particular, than in any other.

After he had ſerved his King many years, he thought good to retire himſelf, that he might more fervently & devoutly ſerve the King of heaven. He went therefore to his houſe in the City of *Hamchew*, where he dedicated himſelf with his whole heart to the affairs of his falvation. He built a new Church and Houſe for the Fathers, which was very requisite in ſo vast and populous a City, although we had then another there at the ſame time. This ſtood ſo neer his owne Houſe, that it gave him a continual occation to conuerſe very frequently with the Fathers, which was his only delight. And that he might wholly employ himſelf in the Service of that new Christianity, he gave himſelf to Tranſlate our Books, which is an exellent way to introduce the understanding of our Sciences, and with them the knowledge of our holy Faith. To this end he requested to have one of the Fathers alwayes with him, who might give himſelf wholly to that employmen. There was affiſted him accordingly, Father *Franciscus Farriado*, by whose affiſtance he compoſed thoſe books *de Cælo*, and Printed them at his own charges, with the great applaueſe of all *China*. He undertook afterwards to have ſet out a *Logick*, which he had finished and reviewed, & was ready for the preſe, when the Lord was pleafeſd to give him the recompence of his pious zeal, by calling him to a better life; after he had received the *Sacrament*, and testified much reſentment of the Mercy of God, and many hopefull ſigns of his owne falvation.

Returning now to the Fathers, whom we left at Court, there, where their Affairs proſpered every day more and more, the Lord being pleafeſd to comfort them, by letting them ſee the fruit of their labours, by advancing the eſteem of our Holy Faith every day more than other among the *Gentiles*, many continually turning *Christians*, and the reputation of the Idols growing every day leſſe and leſſe, by reaſon of the many diſputes, which the profeſſours of their ſects, held with the Fathers, where in they were not only vanquished, but even confounded by the Truth.

CHAP.5.

Of the proceedings and ruine of our Houſe
at *Xaocheu*.

Vileſt our affaires at Court proſpered, and the Fathers uſed their uermot endeavours to ſettle their abode there, in the meane time the Fathers, who reſided in the houſes of the other Provinces, omitted no opportunity to promote the preaching of the holy Gofpel, and had very good fruit of their labour: neither did the enemy of mankind ceafe to ſhew how much he reſented, to have ſo many foulſ taken out of his clutches, neyther was he ſlow to invent new diſturbances and troubls.

The Houſe which we had in the Province of *Canton*, in the City of *Xaochen*, increased every day in the number of new *Christians*, and in the

remarkable conversions of many considerable personages; among whom were three *Mandarines*, in the manner of their behaviour, with examples of virtue far surpassing the carriage of *Neophytes*, or new Converts. In fine, there was a great Gate opened to the Gospel, but in like manner to many adversaries also.

Father *Nicolaus Longobardus* was employed in this conversion; and when he endeavoured with the greatest fervour and zeal to drive all Idols out of the Housles of the *Gentiles*, behold there cometh one into his Houfe, brought upon mens Shoulders in a long procession; who, with a great deale of noise and sturre, demand Almes for the Fabrique of a Temple, that was to be built for it. Every one feeth the danger of that demand, but Christian valour exposing it selfe to all events, did valiantly repulse that charge: and although the noise was great, the demand inopportune, and their out-cries reaching even to heaven, yet the Lord not permitting them to do any other violence, they went their wayes without getting any thing of him.

In the Villages, the *Letterarie* were stark mad against the Christians. In the Citie the report was every where divulged, that in their journey to *Pekim*, the Fathers, who went toward the Court, were apprehended and imfioned by the *Eunuch Maian*, out of whose hands, if ever they went alive, it would be after a very severe chafftisement. And as the Devill makes his advantage of every thing, there was added to this another worse report, by reaon the Scene was laid neerer hand, which was, That our Fathers were banished out of the Citie of *Xakim*, and that all they who had turned *Christians*, were apprehended and chafftised. It is not to be beleaved how much this newes disturbed the people, and troubled the Fathers; and so much the more, by reaon this prattle had some foundation of truth. But as truth doth still prevale in the end, so this tribulation lasted not very long, but seemed rather to give place to new troubles, which were prepared against us.

There happened to be a great drought that year, and the *Gentiles* had many times offered Prayers and Sacrifices unto their *Pagods*, but all was to no effect: and not knowing what to do more, they consulted with an old woman, who was a *Pythoniffe*, asking her the reaon, why it did not raine, and why the *Pagods* did not give an ear to their just prayers in that common neccesitie. She answered, because there are many, who burn the Ribs of *Con Him* (which is the name of a Female, Idol,) meaning thereby, that they who turned *Christians* did burn the *Idols* which formerly they worshipped in their Housles: with this answer of the old woman, as if she had been an oracle, it is not to be beleaved, into what fury and madneffe the *Gentiles* fell: so that if they did not set fire on the Christians Housles, it was only for feare of the *Mandarines*. but they swore to kill the Father, if ever he came againe.

In the Citie the *Bonzi* not being able any longer to endure, nor dissemble the rage which they had conceived against the Fathers, nor to see the smoke of the *Idols*, which were burnt every day by those who were converted, conspiring with many more of the people, resolved to put an end once for all to this busynesse, they framed a divelish Petition, wherein

they

they touched such pointes, that were able to put fear into any Magistrate whatsoeuer; and so much the more, because some of those things, which they said there were true, at least in part, and could not be denied; as that they were strangers; that they perswaded people to live after their way, and to obserue their law; that they assembled congregations, which is a dangerous thing in *China*, for feare of Injuries. To these they added many other things, in confirmation of their opinion. The *Memoriall* was presented to the Officers, neither was it received with an ill will. But the Lord, who alway affissteth his servants, and with his divine Providence helpe them out of their greatest straits, kepe a strong winde in readiness to dissipate these clowds.

This was a grave *Mandarine*, who exercised the office of *Taulli* in that City, who undertooke our defence; and with a speech which he made to the *Mandarines* and the people, concerning the probity and honesty of the Fathers, of their good manner of life and conversation, and of the security which was in them, quieted and appeased this tempest. Of so great power upon all occasions is the authority of one who governeth: and in this particularly, wherein, according to their manner of Government, one would have thought, that this *Taulli*, should have been our greatest adversary, it pleased the Lord by his means so farre to quiet all disturbances, that they made no small advantage, even of these temptations.

Their affaires continued thus, between tempests and calmes; which latter commonly were of the shorter continuance: and to conclude the History of this House, I will only relate two notable passages concern-

ing it.

About this time the *Hollauders* did infest *India*, and were come as farre as *China* with a designe to gaine a Port in that Kingdom, and particularly to take, if they could, the City of *Macao*, as they did afterwards attempt to do, according as I have already related. Upon this occasion that City resolved to fortifie it selfe, as afterward it did, and although the designe did not take effect at that time, yet those beginnings and preparations of warre were sufficient to make the *Chinenses*, (who are timorous and suspiciose even by nature) to beleave that the *Portugheses* had some designe on foot against them. This suspicion was encrreated by the coming of Father *Lazarus Cataneus* out of *China* to *Macao* at the same time. He was a man somewhat corpulent by nature, and of a tall stature, and of a bold and lively mind or aspect, and was now become more venerable by reason of his long beard; so that to any one who was not acquainted with him, he seemed fitter to carry a Pike than a Breviary. The *Chinenses* were perswaded that this Father had a designe to make himselfe Master of their Kingdom, and that the *Portugheses* had chosen him for their Captain in that enterprise; partly in consideration of his person, and partly for the knowledge he had of the waies in that Country, by reason he had been in both the Courts; adding with all, that there would arrive very shortly two Armies to their assistance, one from *India* of *Portugheses*, the other from *Giappone* of *Giapponeffes*, who are their deadly enemies: and that the Fathers, who were the companions of Father *Lazarus*, were gone before into the Kingdom, partly as spies, and partly to stirre up the people to take part with

with their designes. A malicious but ridiculous invention of the Devil, as if 4 or 5 poore religious men, with a handfull of Christians, had been able to conquer so powerfull a Kingdom.

This rumour began by little and little, till at length, (as is usuall in such cases) it grew so strong in the belief of the Chineses, that as many of them as dwelt in Macao, either Merchants or Inhabitants, fled all away to Canton. Whereupon they of the Province of Canton gave themselves for half lost, and being filled with frights and terrors, they made no question but the busynesse was very certain. The newes had already arrived to the Vice-roys eares, who in hast made great levies both for sea and land. In the principall City of the Province, all the Houses were caused to be pulled downe, which were built along the wall on the outside, which were very many, and the poore people received an excessive losse by it. The gates which opened towards Macao were walled up with lime and stome, and upon the walls were placed Sentinells to keep watch both night and day. A proclamation was published, which under very great penalties did prohibite all manner of commerce with Macao, and that no stranger whatsoever should be admitted, and in particular not Father Cataneus, who was he, that was to make himselfe King. In this manner was the Metropolis inflamed with a military heat, while the neighbouring Cities were ready to die for feare.

Who would ever have doubted, that a fire so unfortunately begun, should not have reached as farre as our Residencie of Xaachen, a City of the same Province, and not very farre from the Metropolis, and should not there have burnt up whatsoever it found in it, together with all our other Housles in that Kingdom? They rushed suddenly into the House with such a fury as you may easily believe them to be in upon such occasion: they made a very strickt search, and turned every thing upside downe, to see if they could finde any armes, and having not found what they sought for, having imagined to finde a Magazine or Armory there, the tumult began to cease, and the people went out of the House: nevertheless they set guards upon us for their greater securitie; and from this time that fire began to be extinguished.

The Vice-roy had already given order to the Captain Generall of that Province, whom they call *Tum Pim*, that with all the strength of the Country he shoud fall upon Macao, and that he shoud sack and destroy it. But he, like a prudent man, would not put himselfe upon an enterprize of so much hazzard and danger (for the Portugesses would not have suffered themselves to have been so easily destroyed, as they shewed afterwards against the Hollanders, a people of another manner of valour than the Chineses) before he had received better and more certain information. Therefore he sent spies to Macao, who went up and downe the City very freely, for by reason they had no suspition of any thing, all passages were free and open. When the spies had remained in all libertie in Macao, as long as they thought fit, they returned with certain intelligence, that there was not any preparation for warre in Macao, no levies of Souldiers, nor any signe of newes, which had been spread abroad; but all was in peace & quietnesse, save only that the City was diuided into two factions, by reason of some particular quarrels.

Upon this intelligence he did forbear to put the Vice-roys orders in execution, and in the mean time things began to be better cleared, and the truth to appear. The Citizens of Canton did open their gates, and their feares began to blow over and every thing to settle in a great deale of quietnes, which was much promoted by the coming of that Mandarine, of whom we have formerly made mention, that he did appease another tumult against the Fathers in the City of Xaachen. He had been at the Court, and was returned from thence, upon the occaision of his being promoted to an Office. He, upon the acquaintance he had formerly had with the Fathers, and especially by reason of the new friendship he had contracted with the Fathers at Peiping, with whom he had had a very great familiarity, absolutely settled all those distempers there for that time; for this Province is like a Turbulent sea, for there, stormes are never wanting, one still succeeding another, until they had utterly ruined our House at Xaachen.

It was the year of our Lord 1613, when the people of this City, after many contrats, (whether it were that their sinnes did render them unworthy of those mercies the Lord would have conferred on them, or that the Lord was pleased by this means to provide the Fathers a more quiet and secure abode) conspired in that violent manner against the Fathers, that the Mandarines, (not being able to resist the fury of the Litterati, the Bonzi, and the common people, who with one accord cryed out against the strangers,) did banish them by a publick sentence pronounced against them, which notwithstanding had thus much of good in it to them, that the banishment was not out of the Kingdom, as they did very much feare it would be, but seemed rather a confinement to detain them in the Kingdome.

They pillaged our house, and committed other such insolences, as are usuall upon the like sentences, and with such persons. They placed over the doore in signe of their victory a stome with a long inscription on it against the Fathers, and our holy faith. But when things began to close, the Christians procured one night to have it peckt over with an iron toole, and so defaced it, that it was never after to be read.

The Fathers departed from that City with great contentment of the Gentiles, and a greater resentement of the Christians who wept all downe right: and going up the river towards the North, they arrived in a few daies at Mount Mulin, where the Source and Head of that river riseth. At the foot thereof lyeth the City of Nambium, which terminateth that Province. Here the Lord was pleased, that their Barque should rest, like that of Noah on the Mountaines of Armenia. And without asking any leave, or desiring the favour of any Mandarines, only putting their trust in the Lord, they hired a house in that City, (where it was not hard for them to find one for their turne) without the moleftation or prohibition of any one whatsoever; for when the Lord will have a thing come to passe, all is easie, even without pains and industry. There they lived with that little which they had saved out of their shipwrack at Xaachen, and drest up a Chappell in their house: and as the report of the arrivall of these strangers began to raire their curiositie, so the concourse of the people, and their visits to them did open a doore to the preaching of the Gospell.

So that Father Gasper Ferrer, who had been with them in the late troubles, presently began to baptize some of them. And the year following, as I passed by that place, to go to Nankim, there was, although not a numerous, yet a good and well instructed Christianitie, who enjoyed all peace and quietnesse, untill the year 1616, when the persecution at Nankim began.

C H A P.6.

Of the progress of the Christian religion at the two residencies of Nancham and Nankim, and of the death of Father Mattheus Riccius.

The Fathers Emmanuel Dias, and Joannes Soerius laboured with very good fruit in the residence of Nancham, which is the principall City of the Province of Kiamsi : and although the greatest part of the Christians were but of the common people, yet there were some also of the Nabilites, and of the Kings kindred, who were baptized, and carried themselves very exemplarily to the edification of all the rest. I have since known some of them, who did very much benefit that Christianitie by the good pattern and example of their lives; and when I departed from China, Don Pedro was then living, who is so often mentioned in the yearly letters, for having carried himself like a good Christian upon all occasions, and even in the torments which he sustained with great constancy ; his house many times affording a Sanctuary to the Fathers, and a Church to the Christians, who went commonly thereto during their troubles, and persecutions, which were not wanting there ; neither did they fail to produce that fruit, which they are wont to do in new Christianities.

There dwell in this City many of the Kings kindred, who for the most part are very insolent, partly by reason of the authority of their blood, and partly by reason of the idle and easie life they lead. These did often give the fathers much trouble, and one time were resolved to surprize the house, where they lived, and to turne them out of the City, and had proceeded so farre in it, that there is no doubt, but that they had put their purpose in execution, had not the Governour of the City been changed; who having ended his time resigned his place to another, who although he was new in that Office, yet was not new in the acquaintance of the Fathers.

The Litterati (who when they have only taken their first degree of Bachelor, are another sort of troublsome people) had undertaken to oppose the Christian religion, and to persecute the Preachers thereof ; as accordingly they did many times, but once in particular, many of them conspiring together to pluck up this evill weede, as they called it, by the roots, framed a Memorial, wherein they named some of the Fathers by their names, and affirmed that they were Traytors to the King, and that upon this designe they had dispersed themselves into five severall Provinces.

That

C H A P.6.

The History of CHINA.

that they kept a constant correspondence one with another, that they went up and down the Rivers to rob and assassinare the people; that they taught men not to reverence the Images of their ancestors, and not to worship the Pagods, but brake and burned them; that they seduced the ignorant people, and taught them to worship a Moer (for so in that Province they call the Europeans) saying, that he was the true God; that they made assemblies and meetings, and hindred people from following their busynesse; that they had almost perverted the whole Citie, and thought at the beginning there were but a few of their Sect, yet now they were multiplied to 20000. In fine, they said many other things, which sounded so ill, that there was none who doubted but that they would be sufficient wholly to extirpate the Fathers; beside their adversaries were many, united in one Body, and Litterati too, who knew very well how to use their pen, and are commonly the better heard for that reason.

They presented their Memorial to the Magistrates, who received it, and cited the Fathers to their Tribunal, where they were examined about their life and manners, and concerning the doctrine, which they preached. They gave an account of themselves, and were also very well heard. They brought along with them the Catechism which they taught, printed in the Chinese Language, and presented it to the Mandarines, in stead of a Memorial. This was so well looked upon, that they, not only admired therein the foundation and principle of all vertues, but also greatly praised the precepts of the Ten Commandments. In fine, the busynesse went so well, and so contrary to what their adversaries did hope and expect, and so much in favour of the Fathers, that the Law of God was publickly commended and approved by the very Gentiles themselves; and the abode of the Fathers in that City confirmed by a publique sentence, and drawn up in writing, which till that time could never be obtained; and the Cross of Christ triumphed in spite of all the Devils in Hell; and from thence forward they that were Christians already, enjoyed all the liberty they could desire, and they that had a mind to turne Christians, could do it without any caution or secrecie : and truly there were many of them that proved examples of great edification; and though I do purposely forbear to mention them for brevities sake, yet I will relate one belonging to the same residence, because it was told me by the same Christian himself, a little before my departure for Europe.

I was standing one day, in the Church which we have in this City, when I saw a man come in thither to say his prayers, and not knowing him, I stayed till he came out, and then I asked him, who he was: He answered, Father, I am a Christian, and was born in this City, but am by profession a Merchant in Nankim, and at certain times I come hither to see my Parents, & then I come to Church according to my dutie. I asked him, who did Baptize him? He answered me, Father John della Rocca: And it was, said he, in this manner: I had been sickly many yeares, and had spent all my poor fortune upon the Phyſitians without receiving any help from them, my friends used to visit me, and among them two Christians, who one day being moved with compassion towards me, told me that I should do well to turn Christian, and it might be, that the Lord would grant me

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my health. I answered them, If your God would restore me my health, I am content to turn *Christian*. They went presently to the *Father* to ask him for a little Holy water, to give me to drink, hoping that it would have a good effect. But the *Father* answered them, If he have a desire to turn *Christian*, let him do it, and our Lord will send him health, if it be his pleasure; and if he do not, yet at least let him take care of the health of his Soule, which is more necessary than that of the body. As for miracles, the Lord doth them only when he pleafeth, and if upon this occasion he should not do a *Miracle*, then would that *Gentile* despise and undervalue our religion. They returned to me sufficiently disconolate, but I was much more dejected when I heard that answer. About two days after, the same two *Christians* being with me, there came in another called *Peter*, with whom I was also acquainted; and he was a very zealous and fervent *Christian*. They told him what had happened to them with the *Father*; but he replied, What need have we of the *Father* for this matter? I have holy water my self at home, let us give him some of it, and I hope our Lord will grant him his health. He went presently home, and fetched a little of it; they gave it me, and I drank it, and not long after I perfectly recovered; and that which many medicines were not able to do in so many years, the *Holy water* did in a very short time. I went presently to *Church*, to render thanks to the Lord for that great mercy he had shewed me; and after I had been well *Catechized* and instructed in the principall matters of our *Holy Faith*, I was *Baptized*.

I have made choise of this example in particular, because it was related to me by the person himself, to whom it happened, although there never wanted many others of the like kind, wherewith the Lord doth favour that *Church*, strengthen the *Christians*, and comfort the Preachers thereof.

The Residence of *Nankim* did this while enjoy a perfect peace and tranquilitie; and the *Fathers* gained a great deale of credit and reputation, and were much esteemed by severall of the *Magistrates*, who did greatly favour them. The number and devotion of the Faithfull encreased every day; and for the greater help thereof there was founded a congregation of the *B. Virgin*, with those effects and fruits, which are usually obtained by her.

Diverse persons of very considerable qualitie did present themselves to receive *Holy Baptism*, among whom *Kui Tai* was one; who indeed was worthy of all praise, for the great paines he took in this Cittie to assist the *Fathers*, and for the many advantages he gained them by his authoritie. This man, notwithstanding that he was our intimate friend, did still persist in his *Heathenisme*, and although he commended our *Holy Law*, and approved the Truth and Certainty thereof, yet he thought it very troublesome to obserue a conceit which doth usually with-hold very many from the undertaking of it. But at length having overcome himself and all other difficulties, he was *Baptized*, and called *Ignatius*, making his confession and publick profession so resolute and devoutly, that he did much comfort the *Fathers*, and encourage the rest of the Faithfull: neither was he content only to recite it, but gave it in writing as a pledg of his determinate

nate resolution, the which for the publick edification I have thought fit to insert in this place, and it saith thus.

Kui Ignatius born in the second Moon of the year called Cica, (which was about the month of March, in the year 1549) in the Cittie of Ciancieu, of the Countrey of Suciou, in the Province of Nankim, in the Kingdome of Tamin (for so they call the Kingdome of China) I being drawn by a profound consideration, and moved by a most sensible sorrow for my sinnes, do desire to ask pardon of almighty God, that he might give me the saving water of Baptism, for to cancell them, and that he would grant me sufficient grace to enter into his most Holy Law. I consider with myself, that being now 57 years of age, I have had eyes all this while, and yet have never looked into his Holy Law: I have had ears, and yet have never heard of his Sacred Name; but on the contrary have followed the Sect of Scechia (which is the name of a very famous Idol) and although I understand, that it was repugnant both to truth and reason, I did to be my very great fault, and almost infinite sinne, which without doubt did deserve no lesse than the lowest depth of Hell. Of late years it was my good fortune to meet with the Masters of the truth, who came from the grea Welt, Mattheus Riccius and Lazarus Cataneus together with their Companion Sebastian Ferndes. These were the first that did open unto me the Mysteries of Divine Frances Martinez. These did confirm me in the beleef of those things I had already heard; by meanes of these Masters I learned, that Heaven and Earth, Mankind and all other things were made by God and that all things have their dependence on him; and are necessarie subject unto his commandes: that no other Self, or law, whatsoeuer besides this, is conformable to truth; that sinnes are forgiven only by God by the intermission of his Ministers; that by him only the joyes of Heaven are conferred upon such, who have a true and sincere sorrow for their sinnes: and because I believe that by these meanes a man may obtain from God, Grace and other benefits, I beseech his Divine Majestie, that he would so fill me with this truth, that I may put it in execution by good works, and may be able to conforme my self to his Holy precepts and ordinances. And from the day where-in I shall receive Baptisme, which cleanseth and washeth all filth and uncleanness from the Soule, I do promise by his Grace for the time to come, wholly to extirpate out of my thoughts the Sect of the vain and false Gods; as also their doctrines, which are repugnant to reason, and to take care, that my thoughts do not in any wise runne after the superstitious desire of riches, the vanitie of the world, or the false and foolish pleasure thereof. I will obey the Sovereign Lord and Father of all things, and will follow the direct way of his law; and by a constant watch upon my fencies, I will endeavour, as much as is possible for me, to reduce the light of that reason, which God hath given me, to its former Splendour, I will begin with my self, and afterward communicate unto others, the benefites of those Graces I shall receive from his bountifull hand.

For as much as appertaineth unto the Articles of our Faith, although I am not able to comprehend the greatness of each Mysterie, nevertheless I do from my heart submit my self to them; and do firmly believe whatsoever is contained in them, beseeching the Holy Ghost, that he would illuminate my understanding

understanding with his light, that I might be the better able to comprehend them. Now therefore, since I have begun again to feele the first impressions of faith, my heart is like a tender eare of corne, which is not yet come to its maturitie, wherefore I beseeche the Mother of God, that she will grant me strenght and courage, by her Intercession for me with God her Sonne, that this my firm purpose & constans resolution might never be staggered or broken: that he would open the powers of my soule, and grant me a cleane and pure heart: that he would open my mouth to declare his Divine law through the whole Kingdom: so that none might be ignorant of the law of the True God, or refuse to give obedience to it.

This was the profession in writing of Ignatius: There was also baptized in this house by the hands of Father John della Rocca, who was superior therof, Doctor Paul, whose life we shall set downe more at large toward the end of this relation, and who may justly be called the pillar of the Christianitie of China, who was so much celebrated in the yearly letters, so eminent in dignite and honour, having borne the highest office of the Kingdom, that is, of *Calas*, so zealous in the Christian religion; so exact in the obseruance of it; so humble; so vertuous and holy, that every great thing may worthily be said of him.

This seed of the *Holy Gospel* was not contained within the walls of the City of *Nankin*, but spread it selfe over the Province of the same name; for upon the occasion of Dr. Pauls turning *Christian*, and of his Fathers death, at what time he went to *Scianhai* to celebrate his funeralls, Father Lazarus *Catanae* went thereto, partly to visit him, and partly to see how that Countrie was disposed to receive the word of God. His journey had such good successe, that presently after one *Masse*, there were fifty *Baptized*, and in two years after the number was increased to two hundred: the example of Dr. Paul being of great efficacy to that purpose.

There happened also at that time several miracles; as, driving out of Devils, healing of the sick, and such like, with which this new *Christianity* was warred, and the earth disposed to bring forth more fruit, such as were afterwards, and are still gathered there at this day. There was also a house founded in that Towne; and it is now one of the best *Christianities* in all *China*.

Whilst the Fathers of the three Southerne Residencies, under went so much paines and trouble, Father *Mathews Riccins* was not idle at *Pekim*; but rather was so busied, that he had scarce time to breath, partly for the visits of the *Chinasses*, which he was also obliged to returne them, nor could he have omitted it without injury and discourtesie; and partly with the *Christians* and *Catechumen*; and partly in composing those bookees, which are so much esteemed by the *Chinasses*. In the meane while the reputation and esteeme of our religion was every day advanced, and the number of *Christians* increased by rare and miraculous events. One of the *Neophites*, or new *Christians*, being delivered from death, which he was unjustly condemned to suffer, by the apparition of a man, like unto the Image of our Saviour, one night to that Judge, who was to confirme the sentence, who commanded him to save the life of that *Innocent*: and two others, whose recovery was despaired of by the Physitians, were cured by the

the favour of the *B. Virgin*, who visibly appeared to them, spake to them; and comforted them.

Notwithstanding his great employments, Father *Manheis* did not omit the other functions of his charge in the House, he being superior and having the care of the whole *Mission*, which he governed with great care, prudence, and charity: by reason of these continual pains and care which he tooke, (or rather because the Lord was pleased to deliver his servant out of the troubles of this life, to give him the reward of his sufferings) he fell into a sickness, and although all humane means were applied, and all possible care used to save his life, yet all was to no purpose. He desired to receive the *Sacrament*, which accordingly he received with very great resentment and devotion. The Fathers desired his blessing before he dyed: about many questions which they asked him, he gave particular answers to all: among the rest, to one who asked him, Why he would leave them at a time, when they had so great need of his company? He answered, I leave you the gate open to great victories, which notwithstanding are not to be obtained without great pains and combats. And so entertaining with discourse, sometimes the Fathers, sometimes the new *Christians*, and very often ral-ling up his heart and voice towards heaven, in amorous *Colloquies*, lying in his bed, without any motion at all of his body, and closing his eyes, as if he were entring into a sweet sleep, he gave up his soule into the hands of his Maker, with the general greife and resentment, not only of those of the house, and of the *Christians*, but also of the *Gentiles*, they all calling him, a *perfect Man*, a *Saint*, an *Apostle*. I will forbear to speak any more of him for brevities sake, by reason his life is already written in the History of Father *Trigallius*.

Of the Burying place, which was bestowed upon us by the King, and of the progresse of the Christian religion, unill the time of the persecution at Nankim.

IT is a custom among the *Chineſes*, (as we have already related,) to have a particular place appoynted for the buriall of their dead. The Fathers, who had very hardly a place allowed them for to live in, were altogether destitute of a place of Sepulture; wherefore they were in great doubt, where they shoulde bury the Father. But the Lord who is a guide unto his, and who had a particular intention to honour his servant, put them upon very difficulte undertaking, and as farre as I am able to judge by the custome of *China*, without his ſpeciall affiſtance, altogether i[m]poſſible. This was to Petition the King, defiring his favour, to have a place affigned us for the buriall of our dead. And because it was the Lord, who had firſt fet thiſ busynesse on foot, without any conſideration of the great diſſicultie,

which they were like to find, they presently framed a *Memoriall* to be presented to the King, wherein they laid downe the reasons, which moved them to make this humble request.

The very passing of this *Memoriall*, according to the *Stile* which is requisite upon that occasion, seemed so impossible a thing, that the *Colao* himselfe, who desired to assist them as a friend, accounted it a very difficult enterprise. Neverthelesse after they had recommended their busynesse to Almighty God, the *Memoriall* was presented to the *Mandarine*, to whose office it belonged first to over look it, and the Lord was pleased to favour us so farre, that it passed the *Chancery* without any difficultie, which at first seemed to be the greatest. When it was presented to the King, without doubt he that holdeth the hearts of Kings in his hands, did dispose and incline him to favour us, and he remembred the former Present, and the Clock which he had alwaies by him, did referre it to the *Colao*, together with many other petitions, according to the *Stile* of that Court, and he to the Councell of Rites, because it was a busynesse of strangers, which did properly belong to them. But after they of that Councell had considered it, they judged it to be a speciall favour of the Kings, and that it did therefore belong to the Councell of the Kings *Parimonicie*. Wherefore they did remit our *Memoriall* to them. Asoone as the Fathers understood this, and knowing they had no friends in that *Council*, and that there was nothing to be expected from them without favour, they made such means, by way of other friends, that the *Memoriall* was not only remanded againe to the Councell of Rites, wherein the Fathers had severall friends, but that they also did receive it, and passe sentence in favour of them, as accordingly they did in this form.

*Your Majestie hath given command, that the Councell to whom this busynesse did belong, should give their judgement concerning this petition. And it being come into our hands, we have well considered the laws and constitutions of this Kingdom, and we find one which saith : That if any of those Strangers, which are wont to come into this Kingdom, shoulde chance to die by the way ; if he were a subject or *Vassall*, (for sometimes there come Kings and Princes thither) and were not yet arrived at the *Cours*, the *Treasurer* of the Province, where he dyeth, shall assigne him a place of buriall, where there shall be set up an inscription graven in stone, wherein shall be exprest the occasion of his coming hither.*

*There is also another law which saith, If a Stranger come into this Kingdom, and die after he is arrived at the *Court*, if he have not received the Kings gratuity, and reward, according to the usuall custome, the *Gouverneur* of the City shall defray the costs of his funerall : But if he hath received his gratuity, it shall be done at his owne expence.*

In order to these two laws (from which I cannot well see how an argument should be drawn to favour our cause, because the Fathers had alreadie received their gratuity) the *Mandarine* knew so well how to make up the busynesse, and to find out so many reasons and conveniences to obtain that favour, which Father *James Pantoja* required of his Majestie, for the buriall of his deceased companion, that assoone as the *Memoriall* came againe into the Kings hands, he presently referred it to the *Colao*, that he should give what answer to it he thought fit. The *Colao* drew it up in this form,

forme, That it seemed very reasonable unto him, the strangers shoule have that favour granted them, which they did desire. And so it was againe brought to the King, who signed it with his owne hand, and put to it his *Fiat*.

This expedition put an end to our troubles ; and the Fathers ceased not to render thanks to Almighty God for that favour, which they were so cleerly to owne from his goodnesse, and which was of so great importance for the Fathers residence in that Court, and in the rest of the Kingdom, that concession of the King, serving not only for a Sepulture for their dead, but also for a license for us to remain there during our lives. For he having granted us a place in that Kingdom, to lie in after our death, it was manifest that he granted us also a place of abode there during life; and the words of the Grant runne thus, *To bury their Father Riccius and his companions*. And accordingly they who die in that Court at this day are buried in the same place.

Having overcome the first part of the busynesse, (which was the most difficult,) without any trouble, but rather with a great deale of ease and facilitie, there remained still the seconde, which was the execution of it ; which could not want very much opposition : but by having many *Mandarines* to their friends, and by procuring the good will of others, with some Sun-dials of Ivory, (which the *Chinnes* do highly esteeme, and Father *Pantoja* had the skill of making them very exactly) our poverty not being able to extend it selfe to any great matter, at length they overcame the smaller difficulties, and the execution of their desires became more easie for them ; especially the Fathers having the *Colao*, (who is able to do any thing,) for their friend : who indeed was so well affected to the busynesse, that Father *Pantoja* going a seconde time to visit him, to refresh his memory, fearing lest the multitude of busynesse, which lay upon him might cause him to forget them, before the Father could open his mouth, the *Colao* tooke him by the hand, telling him, that he did not forget his busynesse, but fearing least any delay might be prejudiciale to them, he had past it himselfe, and sent it to the *Gouverneur* with particular recommendations, although he thought it needlesse, because he knew him already to be very well affected to the busynesse, and that he had done the like to severall other officers, through whose hands the busynesse was to passe: Upon the recommendations of a person of so great qualitie, the busynesse was not only received, but very much favoured. There was presently order given to the inferiour Officers, by whose hands it was immediately to be dispatched, that they should finde out a proper place for that purpose : who being alwaies very obedient to the commands of their superiours, and knowing what hasthe the busynesse did require, they went immediately about it, and having found out fourre places, which to them seemed all very convenient, they came to the Fathers, and desired them that they would be pleased to go and see them, and make choise of that which liked them best, and then the King should be made acquainted with it.

Among these fourre places, there was one very neare the walls of the City, with a very faire and stately house and garden, which had formerly belonged to one of the chiefe Eunuchs of the palace ; who for I know not what

what crime was condemned to die; and was still kept a Prisoner. This man before he was condemned, seeing he should certainly be ruined, and that his whole estate would be confiscated to the King, had a design to save this Garden, by putting it, as it were, into Sanctuarie; wherefore he caused the Gate thereof to be altered, turning it into an habitation of Bonzi, and consecrated the great Hall for a Temple of Idols, setting over it this Magnificent Inscription, *The Temple of the Science of Goodnesse*. This place was very commodious, and having but one only Bonzo that lived in it, it seemed to be, as it were, abandoned, and that there would be but little difficultie in obtaining it. That place then being designed and chosen, there was not wanting a Mandarine, who hoping to draw something out of the Fathers by it, was very earnest to have the place prized: but there was another Mandarine, who presently took him up, and told him, that the favours of Princes were above all price, and that they were not to be put to an out-cry. The Governour having notice that we had found out a place, & who was the owner of it, presently drew up an Order in this form, *The Temple of the Science of goodnesse, for as much as it did belong unto an Eunuch, who was condemned to death by the King, ought not to be bought with money. Let the Bonzo, who dwelleth therein, be sent away, and the place presently consigned to Father James Pentio, and his companions.*

This Order was executed in the form of a Sentence: and because the Fathers did imagine, that the Bonzo would make some difficulty in being got out of the place, after they had given thanks to the Governour, they desired he would be pleased to send for the Bonzo to come before him, and to command him to leave the Temple. He dispatched presently two men for him, who brought him away in much fear and doubt, what might befall him, by reason of the great danger that men ordinarily runne into by such visits. When he was come, the Governour commanded him immediately without any reply, that he should quit that habitation, and seek out another. He obeyed him very willingly, being very glad the businesse was not so bad as he had feared: and the very same day the Fathers, having some other Christians in their company, took possession of the Temple, House and Garden, giving thanks to the Lord for their good success, thinking the businesse to be now at an end; not foreseeing the great contrats and oppositions, which they were afterwards to find.

The secrecie and expedition, with which this businesse was carried, gave no time for news to come to the ears of the Eunuch in Prison, what became of the Temple, which he still accounted to be his. But as soon as it was understood abroad that it was granted to the strangers, it is not to be imagined what complaints and murmures it occasioned in the Kindred, friends and disciples of the Eunuch; and how all of them, some one way, and some another, undertook to oppose it, and to use their utmost power to have it revoked by the King.

First, there went a company of inferiour Eunuchs to the Temple, where at that time they found only a Brother of the Societie; after a long discourse they told him, that there were there severall goods and pieces of Household-stuffe not comprehended in the Kings grant to them. And at length before their departure, they made severall speeches to the Idol, some

some bidding him adieu for ever, for now they never hoped to have libertie to come thither again: another in great rage called him, Massie of dirt and dung, (although the Idol were made of Chauk, and gilt) telling him, that seeing he had not strength enough to defend himself, he would not hope for any assistance from him; professing to his face, that he was not worthy of any honour, and that from hence forward he would not shew any sign of gratitude or memorie towards him; others said, This statue had formerly the name of another Idol, which was afterwards changed: behold, what revenge he taketh upon him that usurped it;

But the Eunuchs of greater authoritie left no way nor meanes unattempted; they made their application to the chief Eunuch of the Palace, as also to the Mandarines without, and other persons of great power, that they might carry on their intent. And truly they prevailed so far, that they perswaded the Culikien to interpose his authority, who is Secretary (as they call it) of the Puricie, chief of the Eunuchs, and who hath the frequentest access to the Kings person. But as soon as he understood, that it was done by the Kings Order, he would meddle no more with the businesse.

There was not left any person of greater authoritie, but only the Kings Mother, who was a very devout worshipper of Idols; by her meanes they did endeavour to bring their design about; a certain Eunuch, who was much in favour with her, being made the first mover of this revolution. He told her with great lamentations, that a Temple of his Gods had been taken away from him; that it was worth many thousands of Crownes; that it had been given to certain strangers, who did not only render them no worship nor respect, but did also destroy them; and that he was certain, they would break them in pieces and burn them; wherefore he earnestly besought her Majestie, that she would vouchsafe to speak a word concerning it to the King. But she would by no meanes allow of his request: and it was known afterwards, that she answered him in this manner, *What though the Temple be of that value you speak of? What is that in comparison of the Kings Magnificence! the very mentioning of such a businesse now the King hath done them that favour, if the strangers should but make their complaint, would be sufficient to take away the life of that Eunuch, who is in Prison, and already condemned.* To conclude, in spite of all the powerfull endeavours, in spite of all the craft and machinations which were used against them, the determination of the businesse was in favour of the poor strangers, who were protected by a Divine power; and so having overcome all difficulties and obstructions, the Fathers went to the Palace, according to the usuall manner, to render Thanks to the King.

This place which was granted them, is distant from the gate of the Cittie, about a third part of a Mile; the building is very neat, and all of Brick; and had not then been built above thirty years: it is reported to have cost 14000. Crownes, which is an excessive summe in China. Toward Morning the Body of Father Riccius was brought thither, having been already laid in a Coffin, which was very well closed, and varnished over after the Chinese Fashion. A great number of new Christians did accompany it, with lighted Candles in their hands, following the Croſſe which was carried before very richly adorned; and for the present Coffin

Coffin was put in a room on one side of the Chappel, that there might be a convenience to performe those ceremonies, which were requisite after the manner of China; after that, it was transferred to the *Dormitorie* already prepared for it. At the further end of the Garden there is a Chappell consisting of six sides; it is made of brick, and vaulted. From the fides come out two walls, built compassing in figure of a Semi-circle. This place was chosen by the Fathers for a *Coemeterie*, round about it there are four *Cyppresses*, which are also among the *Chineſes* accounted mournfull and funerall-Trees: they seemed as if they had been planted there on purpose, to shade the Tomb of Father *Riccius*, which was also built there of Brick; and the chief Idol being beaten to pieces, served in stead of Lime, that the Father might even after death, triumph in the destruction of Idols. They caused the Chappel of Idols to be cleanned, and consecrated it to Christ our Saviour. There was in the Hall a very stately Altar, whereon was placed the principall Idol, all gilt from head to foot, of a vast bignesse; called by the *Chineſes*, *Tiam*; and their conceit is, that he doth preside over the earth, and all treasures; and is the very same with *Pluto*, having a Scepter in his hand, and a Crowne on his head, just as we paint our Kings. On each fide of him stood foure Ministers, or Servants, all made of the same matter; on each side of the Hall were placed Two great Tables, upon each of which stood five inferiour Kings of Hell; the same Kings were also to be seen painted on the walls of each side, sitting on a *Tribunall*, and condemning Sinners to the punishments and paines of Hell; there were also to be seen Painted horrible Devils, carrying Instruments of torment in their hands; and likewise severall sorts of punishments which are inflicted on the damned wretches, and their caverns full of flames, Serpents and terrible fiends. There was also Painted a great Ballance, and in one of the Scales was to be seen a man laden with sinnes and wickednesse, and in the other the book of prayers belonging to that Sect, which did out-weigh all the Saines, and deliver him who doth frequently rehearle them. There was also a River of fire, which swallowed up very many men; over it there were two Bridges, one of Gold, and the other of Silver, and over these did the Ministers of the Idols conduet men to places of pleasure and delight. There were also to be seen some of the *Bonzi*, who plucked their Fathers out of the flames and torments in despite of the Devils, and other such things, by which those Ministers did gain a great repute to themselves: and over every sort of torment there was this inscription, Whosoever shall call a thoufand times upon the name of such an Idol, shall be delivered from this sort of punishment. All was thrown down and destroyed by our Servants, who strove who should do it fastest; by reason that the *Chineſes* do put into the bellies of their Idols, money, *Medals*, and also Jewels. The walls were playstered over a new, and over a new Altar was erected the Image of our *B. Saviour*.

On the day of all *Saints* the first Masse was celebrated there, with all possible Solemnite, and with sound of Organs and other instruments. All the *Christians* were there present, and after a brief exhortation, the body of Father *Matheus Riccius* was carried to the place of Sepulture by the chiefeſt of them, and followed by all the rest; particularly by Doctor

tour *Paul*, who loved him as a Father, and there, with the ceremones of the Church he was entered, there having been first placed in that Chaple another Image of our Saviour. The Fathers also built there another little Chappel to the *B. Virgin* in a place convenient for that purpose; to which they had obliged themselves by a vow, which they made when they first undertook this businesſe.

Finally over the first Gate they placed in two *Chineſes* Characters this Incription, *By the Kings liberalitie*; which among them is counted a greater honour than will here easilly be beleaved. Curiosity brought many thither, to see the accommodation they had made, which was commended and admired by all: neither truly ought it to seem a small matter, that in the face of the King and the Court, Alters should be overturned, and Idols beaten to pieces by a few poor strangers, and that too, even with approbation of the greatest officers. This extraordinarie Grace conferred by the King upon us was shortly after divulged in *Pekim*, which gave no small strength and vigour to our affaires there. Their houſes were more frequented, the Fathers better looked upon, and the fruits of the Gospel daily encreased.

They had only foure *Residencies* at that time, which was in the year 1610, but they were so disposed, that they did as it were comprehend the whole Kingdome from South to North, upon the great road from *Can-ton* to *Pekim*, but the Fathers desiring, after they had runne in a manner from pole to pole, to follow also the course of the Sunne, and to exalt the light of the Gospel through the East and Western parts, (where there are many famous Cities,) the occasion was offered them by *Doctor Leo*; for his Father being dead, he was forced to leave his government, and to return into his Country to bury him, and to obſerve that Mourning, which is required by the custome of the Country, wherefore he took along with him ſome of the Fathers, partly for his own particular conſolation, and to inſtruct the *Christians* in his Familie, and to Baptize ſuch as had not yet been converted; and partly to endeavouer to found a houſe in that his native City of *Hamcheu*. The firſt happy encounter there, was that of *Doctor Yam*, named afterwards at his *Baptism*, *Michæl*, who is much celebrated in our yearly letters. He was a *Mandarine*, of great account, and a Kinsman of *Doctor Leo*, and had been for ſeven years together Chancellour of the whole Province of *Nankim*, which is an Office of very great importance, and was very rich, of a great Houſe, and allied to the principall Families of that Cittie; and above all, he was very devout towards the *Gods*, in ſo much that he had builte a Temple for them within his own Palace, with a certain number of *Bonzi* to ſerve them, whom he maintained at his own charges. But he did this more out of ignorance than malice, and therefore the Lord ſhewed mercy unto him. He was one of the firſt that visited the Fathers, and being very much addited to the defence of his Religion, he began a very hot diſpute with a more than ordinary zeal for the upholding of his Sect; the which he continued likewife the day following, and the next day, and ſo for nine daies together, alwayes producing new arguments and proposing new diſculties; not that he had a design to

to impugne, but only to discover the truth. The ninth day he yeelded himselfe, crying out, *A true God, A true Law, A true Doctrine.* And after he had been very diligently *Catechized* and instructed, he was *Baptized*, to the great consolation of the *Fathers*, and alfo of *Dr. Leo*, (who did much rejoice at it; and to the singular grieve and shame of the *Bonzi*, who were presently discarded, and their Temple converted into a Church dedicated to the *Saviour of the world*.)

Now did these two *Heroes* seem two firme and stable pillars, very proper to sustaine that infant Church, with a certain hope, that their example would draw many others to the law of *Christ*, and that there would be a flourishing *Christianitie* founded in that so populous a *Metropolis*, which in my opinion is the richest, the most delicious and magnificent in Temples and other structures of any in that Kingdom. But for the generalitie the least disposed to recieve our *Holy faith*, whether it were then for this caufe, or because their hour was not yet come, which required a greater disposition: there was so little fruit of the *Gospel* at that time, that the *Fathers* judged it better to give place to time, and for the present to leave that abode, and to finde out some other place, better disposed to receive the seed of faith. They proceeded so faire as to propose their intention to *Father Nicolaus Longobardus*, Superior of that *Mission*, who would neither approve, nor reject their opinion, but remitted the businesse to the judgement of the House at *Nankim*, where I was then at that time, and by the grace of God, we were there in all, nine of the Societie. The matter was debated, and it was resolved by all of us, that according as experience had taught us, they should proceed with patience and longanimitie, greater difficulties having been overcome by those weapons. So without any more thoughts of change, the *Fathers* remained labouring in that City, not knowing the great good which the Lord had there prepared for them, and which, time afterwards discovered, not only by founding there, one of the most numerous and best instructed *Churches* that is in *China*, but because that house was ever a safe Port to us in all Tempests, and a secure refug in all persecutions, as shall be seen hereafter.

Christianitie alfo was much encreased in *Xanboi*, the Country of *Dr. Paul*; for his Father and all his household had been *Baptized*, and many other people of that place: and although we had there no settled house, there was nevertheless a *Church*, and every year the *Christians* were visited, both to confirme the old ones, and convert new ones.

In the fourre ancient houses, the *Fathers* said *Masse*, preached and exercised the *Mysteries* and *Ceremonies* of our *Holy Faith*, very quietly and without any disturbance at all. The *Christians* exercised their devotion, and many *Gentiles* endeavoured to finde the way of their *Saluation*, the *Christian Religion* flourished every day more and more, with an abundant number of new *Converts*, and alfo of new *Labourers*, which were sent to us from *Macao*, where they were first instructed in the language and custome of the Country. In the mean time we were sent unto from many places and from severall persons, to desire us to come into their Country, and to preach the *Gospel* to them.

This City of *Yamchew*, which is neere unto *Nankim*, had so great a de-

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fire to be made partakers of our doctrine, that the *Litterati* there wrot a letter to *Father Alphonsus Vagnone*, in *Nankim*, where he was at that time superior, which was subscribed by forty of them, wherein they did invite the Father to come to them, with many prayers and entreaties, and very earnestly desired him, that he would not deferre his coming, & that good which they so much longed for. They did also the like in many other places; whether the fame of our *Holy Faith* was arrived, either by the books we had printed there, or by the relation of the *Gentiles*; (for these do sometimes serve as a guideto therest, and I had once one of them, who did help me to *Catechise*) or else by their conversation with *Christians* themselves. And this was done with so much fervour, that really it seemed to us, the time was come, wherein, after all storms and tribulations were blown over, the winter was passed away, and the spring time began to appeare, bringing forth flowers worthy the sight of that celestial *Gardiner*; or rather, that the crop was now ripe, and expected a happy harvest. The *Fathers*, being animated with these successes, and well pleased with the many occasions, which continually presented themselves, were not sparing to make good use of them, hoping that they would have been dayly increased. But who is able to comprehend the judgements of the Lord? Or who hath been his Councillour? Whilest things stood in this prosperous condition, whether it were for the sinnes of that Kingdom, or for ours in particular, or because the Lord was pleased to prove and exercise his servants, there was raised in *Nankim*, (where that house was founded with much quiet, and had continued in greater tranquillity than the rest) the following persecution.

C H A P. 8.

A fierce persecution is raised against the Christians in Nankin.

This Persecution, which was the most terrible of all we have yet suffered, began in the year 1615 upon this occasion which I shall relate.

There wasthis year sent from *Pekim* to *Nankim* a *Mandarine* called *Qui Xin*, to be an assistant of the third *Tribunall* named *Lipu*, which taketh cognizance of all *Rites*, *Seets*, *Strangers* and such like. This man, besides that he was extremely averse both to our *Holy Faith*, and to the *Fathers*, and on the contrary, very much addicted to the worship of Idols, he had been stirred up by several occasions, to bear a particular hatred towards us; First by reason of a booke written against our religion by a *Bonzo*, an intimate friend of his, which was so well confuted by *Dr. Paul*, that the *Bonzo* broke his heart with the very grieve and shame he conceived at it. Moreover the *Bonzi* of *Nankim*, had given him a handsome bribe, reported to be 10000 crownes, to drive us away; hoping thereby, that fire might be extinguished, which had been kindled against their Gods. To these may be added the

the spleen he had against Dr. Paul and Dr. Michael, who discoursing with him, the one in Pekim, and the other in Cechian, did by such powerfull arguments vilify those Idols, he did worship, that, having nothing left to answer for himselfe, he converted his silence into rage, and his shame into venome. But his spite and malice was much more encreased, when he understood, that two *Memorialls* had been presented to the King, by two *Mandarines* of great qualitie, wherein they did earnestly move the King, that the Fathers might be perswaded to translate the books of Europe into the Chinese language, and that they should be employed in the reformation of their calendar; *Xin* not being able to digest, that strangers should be held in such esteeme, who were enemies to his sect, to the manifest danger and ruine of his Idols: and last of all, that which did strongly animate him to that enterprize, was the ambition he had to be *Colao*, hoping, that this his zeale for the ancient *Rites*, and for the religion of his Fathers, would aduance him to that dignitie; especially since it belonged to his office, to have a vigilant eye over such matters.

Therefore besides other things, which belonged to his charge and office, he caused a damnable *Information* to be drawne up against the Fathers, proving therein by feigned and colourable reasons, that they ought to be banished the Kingdom. He said they had intruded themselves into China without leave, making use, for proofe thereof, of a certain *Memoriall* which we have formerly mentioned to have been made by the students of Nankim, wherein they besought the *Mandarines* to banish the Fathers out of the Kingdom, as perfons who were very pernicious to the Common-wealth, and had secret *Machinations* against the King and Kingdom; for said they, if it be not for this reason, for what other end and purpose are they come with so much eagernesse and zeale into another world, and had abandoned their owne habitations and estates? The other *Testimonies* which he brought, were other such like impostures, wherewith a neighbour of ours in Nankim had furnished him; that many nights in the year, under pretense of some solemnitie concerning the divine worship, there were many great assemblies held in our house consisting of thousands of men and women (a most grosse lie) and that before the break of day they all dispersed themselves to their owne houses, that every new Christian had given him five false duckats, made by *Alchemy*, after he had been enrolled in a list, which they kept of them, and that they had strange and barbarous names imposed upon them at their admittance, and were taught to make the signe of the crosse iupon their forehead, to serve them as a marke of distinction in the time of their rebellion and insurrection. That they had their houses full of Armes, and other such like lies very well coloured over.

Of all these arguments put together he framed a *Memoriall*, which he presented to the King in the Month of May 1616. The substance whereof was, Our entrance by stealth into the Kingdome. The propagation of a Law contrary to that of the Idols, which had been the religion of their Ancestors. The concurrence which there was in high Tisles between our God and their King, betwixt our West and their East. Our subtletie and craft in gaining of friends. The destruction of the Astrologic of China as false and erroneous, occasioned by the reading of that of Europe, and such like things. The conclusion of it was,

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That it was necessary for the publicke good, that he should cause a general Mallette book of the Fathers and the rest of the Christians, before their force and number could prove dangerous to the Kingdom.

To this *Memoriall*, which was presented to the King very secretly, there was no answer returned within the usual time. Nevertheless, Dr. Michael had notice of it by means of a *Mandarine*, who was a friend both to him, and to the said *Xin*: he presently gave advise thereto of the Fathers, with directions what they should do. He wrote many letters to several *Mandarines* in our favour, and one directed to *Xin*, wherein without discovering that he knew his intention, he confuted all his arguments against the Fathers and their religion. Last of all, he invited the Fathers to retire themselves to his house in the City of Hangchon, until the storme were over. In the mean time, we laboured to obtain the help and succour of Almighty God, by re-doubling our prayers and mortifications; and withall, we went to Dr. Leo, who lived two dayes journey off, and shewed him the *Apologie* written by Dr. Michael for our assistance and counsell, to which he added a discourse in commendations of the Fathers, and of their religion, and by their hands he dispersed many advertisements necessary for that time and occasion, throughout the whole City: neither were the Fathers wanting with fervent exhortations to do the office of faithfull *Papists*, animating and encouraging all to suffer for the defence of Gods honour, and his *Holy Religion*. And the Christians, striving who should prepare himselfe best against the storme, frequented our house and the *Holy Sacraments*, and tooke counsell how to carry themselves in case of *Persecution*. There was among the rest a prudent and learned person named John *Woo*, who had prepared four small banners, wherein he wrote his name, Sir-name, and Country, and the *Christianitie* both of himselfe and of his familie; which might serve him for enigmes of his profession in time of *Persecution*; neither did he cease to declare himselfe to be such, and to extort others to a constant confession of their faith.

Three Months after the first *Memoriall*, *Xin* having received no answer from the King, presented another to the same purpose by the hand of *Xamxu*, who was *Lipu* of the third *Tribunal* in Pekim, having perswaded him also to frame another of the same Tenour, and to present it along with his. The *Mathematician*, who had perswaded the Fathers to correct and amend the *Chinese Calendar*, discovered their plot, and privately taking a copy of their petitions, he gave it to the Fathers and to Dr. Paul, who in one night wrote an *Apologie* for the Fathers to presentto the King, when there was occasion, and dispatched a *Mandarine*, his disciple, a man very well versed in the manage of affaires at Court, to the *President* of *Lipu*, that having sufficiently informed him of the truth, he might perswade him not to favour the intentions of *Xin*. This *President* concealed the venom he had in his heart under faire and specious promises; but in effect, he gave in a most pernicious *Memoriall*, wherein he affirmed, That the request of *Xin* was so just and necessary for the preservation of the Kingdom, that for his part he should have thought he had done well, if without expecting any other leave from the King, but only by the duty of his place, he had dispatched orders throughout all the Provinces for the extermi-

extermination and banishment of all the *Fathers*, excepting only those of *Pekim*, because he saw them well backt and supported ; taxing by these words both the King and the *Mandarines* who did protect them. The *Memorial* was so handsomely woven, and the words placed so equivocally, that he could have given them quite another interpretation, if need had required.

These two *Memorials*, the one of *Xin*, and the other of the *President*, were presented on the fifteenth of *August*, and after that a third, that we could get no intelligence of , till it was presented. On the twentieth of the same month they were published, according to the *Style of China*, by express *Carriers*, throughout all the Provinces of the Kingdom, together with a particular order from the *President*, for the imprisonment of the *Fathers*. The people were amazed to see three *Mandarines* conspire against those, whom the whole Kingdom had admired, and whom almost all the *Litterati* had respected, visited, and esteemed ; but they well perceived, that these accusations were but forged calumnies, which proceeded from a corrupt and malicious spirit.

On the thirtieth of the same moneth, about midnight, by means of a *Currier* dispatched for that purpose, by the *Quoij* of *Pekim*, the news came to the *Fathers* in *Nankim* of what had passed at Court. Immediately they ran to the Church, and presented themselves as Victims and Sacrifices unto the Lord; and afterwards packing up their Pictures, and the sacred Vessels that belonged to the Church, they conveighed them thence into the House of a *Christian*, hoping by that means to secure them. As soon as it was day, the *Fathers*, *Nicolaus Longobardus* superior of the *Mission*, and *Julius Lemis*, departed towards *Pekim*, to give what assistance they were able to the rest. There remained in *Nankim* the *Fathers* *Alphonsus Vagnone* and *Alvarus Semedo* (*the Author of this Relation*,) who expected every moment, when they should be scised on by the Sergeants and Executioners. Not long after, came three *Mandarines* to us from the *President* of the *Council* of warre, to give us notice, that that *President* and *Xin* were deputed to put the Proclamation in execution, which had been lately issued for our banishment out of that Kingdom; nevertheless, they seemed to condole with us, because, as they said, they were very well satisfied, both of our innocence and deserts; yet advised us to give place willingly to force, before we shoule be necessitated to undergo the discourteous and barbarous usage of *Xin*: and that the *President* would give order, that we might not receive any affront, nor molestation in our journey, also one of the three did advise us as from himself, that we shoule not make too much haft, for that he hoped through our Innocence, and the favour of the *Fathers* friends at *Pekim*, these troubles would shortly be appeased.

Toward the evening, there was a company of Souldiers sent by *Xin* to beset the House, and about the break of day, the first of September, there appeared three Sergeants to apprehend the *Fathers*, and to search every hole and corner of the house; and although they had a speciall order from *Xin* to abuse and evill intreate the *Fathers*, nevertheless they carried themselves very courteously, and sent in their mesage in writing to

Father

Father *Vagnone*, which is a great poynt of *Civilitie* in *China*. They set a guard upon the doores, and made an inventory of whatsoever they found in the House.

In the meane while Father *Vagnone* sent a *Christian*, called *Donatus*, under pretence that he was our *Caterer*, to Father *Longobardus*, to tell him what had happened, and to advise him to take heed, that he did not fall into the enemies clutches. *Donatus* did his message, and returned with provision for our supper in his hands, although he was jeared by the Souldiers, that he would returne into the cage of his owne accord, yet he preferred that prison before the liberty he might have enjoyed elsewhere. For at the very first rumour of the persecution, He returned to the houle purposely to serve us, being resolvled either to live or die with us for the defense of that faith, of which (though he was of very young years) he was so zealous and observant; having converted many ; and in effect, God did give him the grace to suffer much for his religion ; both in imprisonment and stripes, he was our constant companion.

When the inventory was finished, to the great edification of the Sergeants, who did not expect to finde such povertie ; and when they had sealed our chests and whatsoever could be shut up, they carried away Father *Vagnone* in a sedan, and brought him before *Xin*, leaving Father *Semedo* lying sick in a chamber, which they had sealed up. Assoone as he was brought out, there was a great noyse and shouting made by the meeter sort of people, and so great a crowde, that the Officers were forced to make their way by blowes. After they had gone two miles, they stayed according to the orders which *Xin* had given, at the houle of the *Tauh*, who was a Kinfman of *Xins*, spending at least two houres in giving him an account of what had passed: during which time, Father *Vagnone* was left in the open street exposed to the injuries, scoffes and abuses of the insolent people. At length the Sergeants being returned, made their excuses to the *Father*, for their long stay, and so carried him to prison, recommending him to the *Gaoler*, as an innocent perfon.

A little after, the chief of the Sergeants sent him from his House a good Supper and a bed; the other Sergeants did also the like in their turns, every one taking his day. There were two of our domestique Servants who waited upon Father *Vagnone* in the prison, one whereof was called *Ciam Mather*, he was a very zealous *Christian*, and for three years before, had retired himselfe to our house, that he might with more liberty serve God, and waite upon the *Fathers*, without expecting any other recompense, but that of the next life. This man, assoone as the Sergeants were come into our house, presented himselfe first of all to give them his name, that he mighthave the opportunitie to be carried along with the *Fathers*, as in effect he was, and gained a happy crowne by this *Perfection*.

At the news of the imprisonment of Father *Vagnone*, the *Christians* inflamed with zeale, ran to our house, neither could the guards hinder some of them from going in. The most zealous of all the rest was *John Tao*, who sticking in his cap one of the above mentioned banners, and holding up in his right hand a scrawl of paper, wherein were contained the chiefe heads of our religion, and the necessity of them, being asked by the guard,

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what he meant by it, answered, To die with the *Fathers* like a *Christian* for the faith of Christ. The Soldiers were much astonished at that answer; yet they put a halter about his neck, and lead him to the *Mandarines*, where being asked, what he was, answered boldly and with a loude voice, That he was a *Christian*, & that he came to give an account of the law of Christ, if they would be pleased to hearken to him. They immediately caused the halter to be taken from about his neck, and gave him a seat to rest himself on; much admiring his resolution and constancy, the like whereof had not till that time been seen in *China*.

In the mean time, *Xin* understanding that the Sergeants had left one *Father* in the house, and used the other civilly, was very angry, and reproved them sharply for it, commanding them to go next morning to a garden, which we had without the City for our recreation, telling them they should finde there store of arms concealed; and at their returne to carry the other *Father* to prison. They found nothing in the garden of what they looked for; but they carried *Father Semedo* out of the house to prison, together with foure servants, and foure other *Christians*, who had come into the house, as also brother *Sebastian Fernandes*, and another student, who was a native of the City of *Macao*.

The *Christians* of *Nankim* wrote an account of what had happened, to *Father Longobardus*, who was departed for *Pekim*. The messenger overtook him in *Cauxen*, where he presently consulted with *Dr. Leo*, who was Governor at that time of two territories; it was resolved, that the *Father* should go alone to *Pekim*, that he might the more easily be suffered to passe, and that he should leave his companion there. He furnished him with an hundred crownes to defray such expences as should be requisite for the making of their defence. He wrote also to severall *Mandarines* of *Nankim*, and to the *Viceroy* himselfe. He procured many letters from his friends to others in the Court in favour of the prisoners: he comforted them with letters, and mony, and cloaths against winter, which began to grow very sharpe; neither was his fortitude inferiour to his charity, resisting valiantly his kindred and friends, who did every day set upon him to perswade him to leave that so open defence and protection of the *Fathers*, which might prove so prejudiciale and dangerous to him; but he gave them so good reasons for what he did, that they were all silenced, and he and his whole family perverled in the way they had begun.

Dr. Michael shewed himselfe no lese zealous, assoone as he understood the newes by the letters, which were sent him by the *Christians* of *Nankim* and *Nanham*; for he advised the *Father* who was at *Elmken*, (for the other was gone to visit the *Christians* thereabouts) that he should get him gone out of the City; which accordingly he did with many tears of the *Christians*, and fervour and zeale of the *Catechameni*, who accompanied him to the boote; as did *Dr. Michael* likewise and his two sonnes, and a brother of his, who was a *Gentile*, and three other *Letterari*, walking on foote a great way, that cold and wet seafon of the year. He gave also a hundred crownes to that lay-brother, whom the *Fathers* sent to *Cauxen*, to *Father Longobardus*, towards the expence of his voyage, the which mothy *Father Longobardus* sent afterwards by the same brother to *Nankim*, for the relief of our prisoners.

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When *Longobardus* was arrived at *Pekim*, he found the *Fathers*, *Fabius Pantoia*, and *Sabbatinus D' Orsi*, who negotiated our busynesse, according to the directions and instructions of *Dr. Paul*. It is hardly credible, what care and paines he tooke in writing of letters and learned *Apologies*, and all other imaginable diligences, both openly and under-hand, for the defence of the *Christian Religion*, which things I forbear to mention here, because they shall be related in his life. Yet for all this, was he never able to get a *Memorall* passed to the Kings hands, *Xin* having craftily shut up all entrance to him; nevertheless those *Apologies* were dispersed through the whole Kingdom, and did sufficiently manifest the malice of our adversaries, and the injustice of the persecution.

While the *Christians* with one accord endeavoured to make our innocencie appeare, and defended it with all their might, *Xin* grew still the more outrageous against the *Christians*, and particularly against the poore prisoners. He suffered them not to be together above five daies, but commanded they should be separated and put into five severall prisons, and very strictly forbid they should be allowed any conversation or visits, strengthening their guards, upon pretence, that those men could vanish out of sight when they pleased. But he was extreamly vexed, when he saw he could not so colour his cause, but that it appeared to most men to be unjust, and occasioned meerly by malice; as also observed, that the *Mandarines* shewed us the same kindnesse and respect, as they had done in the time of our prosperity: but that which afflicted him most was the joy and chearfulnesse, which all those prisoners shewed in their sufferings for the love of Christ, without ever giving any signe of sadnesse, or discontent, in all their misery.

Xin not being able to shake the constancy of men, would needs try whether he could overcome the courage of children, commanding that five boyes, who were left behind in our house by reason of their tender years, should be apprehended by the officers and carried to prison: an act which was accounted barbarous, even in the opinion of those that did not favour us. He deprived of his degree of *Bachelor Philippe Sin*, who was Master of the *Chinesse* tongue to the *Fathers*; who fearing the blow, kept himselfe retired for a while in his house: But assoone as the occasion of his *Degradation* was published, which was for having taught the language to the *Fathers*, then he went abroad, rejoicing publickly, that he had had the honour to obtain a more noble degree, by suffering for the *faith of Jesus Christ*.

After this, *Xin* did very much endeavour to finde out some letter, written by *Dr. Leo*, or *Dr. Paul*, or by the *Fathers*; that he might pick some occasion out of it to raise a calumny upon them: but this attempt proving fruitelesse, he betook himselfe to compasse his desire by a sleight, writing to *Dr. Leo* in the name of *Father Vagnone*, on purpose to draw an answer from him, which he might censure, and make his owne comment upon, which in *China* is no hard thing to do, by reason of the custome they have of writing and sealing letters with the hand and seale of another: But neither did this invention take effect. For *Dr. Leo* presently discovered the cheat by the stile & maner of writing, & did but laugh at him for his pains.

In the mean time there arrived at Nankim, that lay-brother, who was sent from Father Longobardus to assist the prisoners and Christians there; where he found Ignatius Hya, a learned man, a good Christian, and kinsman of Dr. Lee, who was sent thither from Caesarea, to cause an *Apologie*, which the Dr. had written, to be printed and dispersed in that Court. This lay-brother undertook the care of the press, and having chosen out *Six Christians* of the Art, he carried on the worke in a private garden that belonged to one of them. The uncle of this Christian to whom the garden belongeth, wherein the press was, having counsellel them in vain to desist, by reason of the danger they put him in, went and discovered it to Xin, who gave him a good gratuity for his news, and that night sent Officers, who tooke them all and brought them before Xin, who was very joyful to have found this new occasion of traversing the Fathers. They were sent to prisone, and shortly after carryed before that Tauli, who was a kinsman of Xin: who having read the *Apologie*, and understood the cause, finding nothing in it to lay hold upon, to free himselfe of the trouble, sent them to another Tauli, who imitating the first, sent them before another great Mandarine; who having heard the cause, said they were not guilty of any thing; and to conclude the busynesse, gave his sentence in writing, That those men ought in justice to be set at libertie; but if they were to have any chastisement, he thought fifteen *Bastinadoes* to the chiefe of them would be sufficient; and that his opinion was they ought to be set at liberty, without being sent any more to any other Tribunall: nevertheless, he remanded them back to Xin out of the respect he bore to his great office, fully perswading himselfe, that he would set them at libertie.

When Xin heard the sentence, he was ready to burst with rage and anger: but not knowing how to help it for the present, he sent them to prison to Father Vagnone, after he had cauled fifteen *Bastinadoes* to be given the poore brother in so cruell a manner, that he was in great pain and misery. I will not stand now to recount the villanies and outrages which they suffered, whilst they were remanded from one Tribunall to another; that tempest of Cuffes, Kicks, Thrulls, boxes of the eare, spitting upon, dirt throwing in their faces, pulling of the haire of their heads and beards, and other insolencies, which use to be done there to poore prisoners, when the mony floweth not largely to the Officers; as it happened to these poore Christians, leaving all to the consideracion of the pious Reader.

After this, they were sent by Xin to the Mandarines of his Tribunall to be examined; the examination lasted six hours upon these Articles: *What law is this law of yours? How came you into China? How do your professors live? How do they maintain themselves? What Government have they? What commerce with Macao, and the Fathers of that place?* But at length the examination was ended without torments, by means of a Mandarine, who was a Countriman of Dr. Paul, and Dr. John, from whom he had received letters in favour of us. Xin was highly enraged at this, and having sharply reproved the Mandarine, he removed the cause from that Tribunall, and sent it to a higher Court, desiring the Tauli thereof to put on rigour in such a cause as this was. They were examined by him for a little while, and having pardoned the rest, he commanded twenty stripes to be given to

Vn Paul, who was owner of the Garden, and twenty more to the Lay-brother, whose wounds were not yet healed which he had received by the other fifteen stripes; and so sent them to Xin, who not contented with these torments, sent them again to the Mandarine of his own Tribunall, where they were examined a new; and for the Satisfaction of Xin, were racked (after that manner whiche we have described, when we speake of the torments among the Chinese) to make them confess that which they knew not. These valiant Christians were very ill handled by these tormentours; not having any crime to confess, they were accused to have perswaded several Women to curse Christians, afflicting therein Father Vagnone; wherefore by a new Sentence they were all *Bastinadoed* in the manner above-said, except a very old man, and two of the Printers, who were Gentiles. But seeing the Lay-Brother and Vn Paul so torne and wounded with the Stripes they had received, they gave over, and sent them back to Prison.

They being cured and healed there by Father Vagnone, as well as he could possible, in that misery and poverty he was in, fifteen dayes after they were brought again before Xin, who examining them very particullarly, said to the Brother, *What kind of Law is that of yours, which holdeth forth for a God, a man who was executed for a Malefaction?* Whereupon the Brother took occasion, with a great deale of Spirit, to open the *Mystery* of the *Incarnation* to him. The Tyrant would not endure that liberty of speech: but to take off his promptnesse, commanded there shoulde be twenty stripes given him; and as his former wounds were not quite healed, he endured an incredible pain in having them opened again with new blowes; which were laid on so lustily, that the blood spuked as farre as where Xin sat; by which being, as it were, more inflamed, he grew out-ragious against the young man, whom he believed to have brought the *Apology* of Doctor Paul from Pekim, which althoough it were false, yet that he might not discover the true bringer, he under-went willingly a furions load of stripes, for the love of Christ, and for his *Holy Faith*. After this, they were led through the City to the Prison, which was three miles off; whither notwithstanding standing the Brother was carried upon aboard, being of himselfe not able to move.

The courage and desire of these Valiant Confessours grew still the stronger, by how much these torments had weakened their Body. They had no other regret, but that they had not lost their lives together with their bloud, and so in the healing of their wounds, which being almost frozen by reason of the extraordinary cold, required new cuttings and incisions from the hands of thofe unskillfull Surgeons of the Prison, they rejoiced in those new torments which they suffered in so glorious a cause. All the sorrow and trouble fell to the lot of Xin, who still thinking after Christian bloud, remitted the cause of these Prisoners to the judge criminall. But the successe fell out contrary to his expectation, for that Judge, after he had conferred with Xon Xu, the President of his Tribunall, concerning the entitement of these Prisoners, pronounced them innocent: but that nevertheless, they were to expect what the Kings pleasure would be concerning them. In the meane time he gave them good words, and sent them back

back to Prison; but after five dayes, he set them at libertie, and sent them home to their Houses, under pretence of getting their wounds healed.

C H A P. 9.

The Continuation of the Persecution, and the Banishment of the Fa- thers out of China.

AS soon as *Xin* was acquainted with the Sentence which the Judge *Criminal* had given, he began to contrive new Troubles for them, that he might not seem to have persecuted Innocent Persons. First he writ and dispersed abroad libels against those Christians, accusing them to have printed an Apologie against certain of the chiefest Mandarins, in favour of the Fathers, who were Traytors and Disturbers of the peace of the Kingdome. After that, he privately stirred up the Censors of the people who had recourse to him, as to their Superior, to receive rules from him for the ordering of the lives and manners of the people. The answer he gave them was, That they should take heed of *Fa Vagnone* and his companions, who were Seducers of the people, and disturbers of the publick peace, by teaching a law, which did infringe their fidelitie to their Prince, the reverence of their Ancestors, the worship of the Gods, and the exercise of all other vertues, which have been from all times so highly esteemed in *China*; and in the conclusion, much deplored the misery and unhappiness of those times, wherein there were so many Persons, who suffered themselves to be bewitched by such Deceivers.

Upon this, there was a *Mandarine* of the *Tribunall* of *Xin*, and two other *Datours* of small esteem and reputation, who began to write against the Fathers, and one of them in particular, who had formerly been in the *Philippine Islands*, wrote, That the Christians did worship a Crucified Man; That they signed their Foreheads with the Cross; That they set it on the top of their Houses and Steeples, and wore it about their necks as a Jewel; That under pretence of Preaching their Law, they had made themselves Masters of the *Philippines*, of *Malacca*, and of the *Indies*; That of late years they had slain many *Chineses* upon no occasion given them; That their Religious men did commit horrible *Sacrilege* with the women, who frequented their Churches, drawing out all their Secrets from them under a pretence of Piety; That the designe of their coming into *China* was to conquer the Kingdom, under colour of such deceits and impostures; and that therefore undoubtedly they ought to be driven out thence, as the pest and plague of the *Common Wedish*. Besides these writings published by *Xin*, and sent to the Court of *Pekim*, he laboured so powerfully with the Tribunals of *Pekim*, that he perswaded them to present a *Memorial* to the King against the Fathers, and the law which they Preached; and pro-

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cured also to have it signed with the Seal of the *Emperour*, who is then in stead of *Viceroy*.

This Memorial was presented the last day of September, the day following they gave in another, wherein they brought the King to give a diffpatch to the *Memorials* already presented. On the eighth of October, *Xin* presented a third on the thirteenth day he caused a fourth to be presented by the hand of a *Tauli*, and afterward a fifth by means of a certain *Magistrate* of *Nankim*, who was one of the Kings Remembrancers.

For all this the Kings answer did not yet appear; and in the meane while *Datour Paul* wrote his second *Apologie* against all these calumnies and *Slanders*, which being joyed to his first, and to that which *Datour Michael* made, and other *Memorials* and *Treatises*, made a good large volume. Thus did that primitive Church glory, to defend the honour of their Holy Faith, both with their blood and pens. The writings of our Doctors were Authorized by the patience of our Prisoners, who cheerfully underwent all the ill usage which was shewne them, partly for the satisfaction of *Xin*, and partly for want of money, the *Chymists* not suffering the least thing in the world to be brought to us from our House. They lay three moattis hin the worst place of all the Prison, with Manacles on their armes: their food was only a little Rice ill-boyled, and a few hearbs without any Seasoning, and this too always cold, they boylling still as much as might serve them three or four dayes. If there were any Almes sent them from the Christians, either all or part of it was stollen from them by the Prisoners and guards, who always swammed about them like Walpes.

Father *Semedo*, and Brother *Sebastia Fernandes* were put together in one Prison, where by way of an extraordinarie favour they had, allowed them half a Duck Egg a piece, dried and salted in stead of hearbs; and although two of those Egges at least be sold for a farthing, yet was one of them divided between two men. Father *Semedo* lay continually sick nine moneths together, and through the convenience of this worthy Infirmary, and the charity of his tenders, he was twice in great danger of death; although he was once pardoned the *Bastinades* he should have received by reason they found him in so weak a condition.

The other Christians fell sick likewise through their great sufferings and durance; wherefore there were severall times *Memorials* presented to *Xin*, to desite liberty, according to the custome, for them to go to their own Houses to recover themselves, having first given it good security for their returne. But there were only two or three who could obtain this leave, and that for four dayes only: so that two happily ended their lives, only through the hardshipp they endured. The one of them was called *Peter Hys of Nankim*, aged about 22 years: he had been five years a Christian of a very exemplary life, in which time he vowed perpetuall *Chasitie*, and endeavoured to preserve it by frequent penances, and by keeping a strict watch upon his lentes, not looking upon so much as his dearest Kin- Women; as also by frequent prayer day and night, insomuch that his *skynnes* were become horny and callous. He came every day to *Messe*, althoough he lived four miles off: he was very discreet in his speach,

and

and of a sincere conscience, endeavouring to avoyd every small imperfections, and the least shadow of evil. What he got by the handy-craft trade he used, he still gave part of it to his parents, and the poore *Christians*: he was very patient of injuries, saying, He ought to be a lambe who would imitate Christ; and such a one did he shew himselfe to be, more than ever, in his last sicknesse: for it being contrary to the lawes of that Kingdom to suffer any prisoner to die in prison, *Xin* sent to the Father of the said *Peter*, that he should take him home till he were recovered; but the Father through incere hatred to his sonne, because he was a *Christian*, would not receive him. Then *Xin* sent him by the Sergeants to his Mother-in-law, who because she was an *Idolatress*, used him very wickedly, yet did he never shew the least signe of discontent, but alwaies of modesty and admirable patience. At length, when he was neere death, he was fetcht back into prison, from whence he flew into eternall libertie. And this was the first lay-man who died there in prison for his religion, his corps was grangted to his Father to bury it, but without any Ceremony at all.

The seconde who dyed in prison was called *Hierome Vem*; he was taken in our house coming thither to assit us: he also died of pure sufferance. His wife presented many *Memorials* to the *Mandarines*, that he might be brought home to recover his health, but all was in vain. At length he had recourse to *Xin*, who understanding that her husband was a *Christian*, gave her no other answer but this, You see what good you get by the religion they profess; and with this answer left her disconsolate and quite out of hope: not long after her husband died with so much the more glory, by how much the leffe he had of humane help, in that sicknesse he so patiently endured for the love of *Jesus Christ*, and the maintenance of his religion.

The death of these men did stirre up in the rest of the *Christian* prisoners a holy envie, and a new fervour to suffer for Christ; neither were the *Christians* without wanting to shew themselves true followers of that persecuted religion. They divided the prisons among them, so that every day the *Christian* prisoners were visited, and succoured as much as might be, and had also notice given them of the designes and proceedings of *Xin*, and the other *Mandarines*: neither were they content with this, but relieved also the wives and children of the prisoners, pawning sometimes their house-hold-fluffe, that they might not want wherewithall to do it.

Captain *Ignatius Cim*, although he was but newly converted to the faith, yet was as for ward and eminent in this work of *Charitie*, as could possibly be desired; as also three other families, with the hazzard of being made infamous for ever; namely, that of *Lucius Ciam*, Captain of armes, that of *Andrew Hiam* a smith; and that of *Francis* a guilder, where I cannot but admire, the great charity of the said *Andrew*, who having received some crownes from Father *Vagnone* for the relieve of the prisoners, made no use of them, but by the daily paine and labour of himselfe and his sonne, made provision every day for two prisons, restoring afterwards to the Father the mony he had put in his hands. There were also certaine devout *Christian* women, who making a purse out of the fruit of their labours, bestow'd it in the prisons according to the necessities of the prisoners; there

there was also one, who being himselfe a prisoner, spared still something out of the penny, which was given him every day for his maintenancce: and when he had made up a small summe, he divided it among the most necessitous of the prisoners, with so much the greater liberalitie, by how much the industry of that *Charitie* was more subtle.

At the beginning, when the *Fathers* were first apprehended, there were not wanting certain wicked persons, who feigning themselves to be ministers of justice, went from house to house to disturbe the *Christians*, on purpose to draw mony from them; and if in searching every corner of the house, they happened to finde any Images, they threatned to accuse them to *Xin*. This lasted till a *Mandarine*, who had notice of this roguery, apprehended many of them, and caused them to be well *Bastinadoed*, and one of them for no other cause, but that he had inform'd against a man to the *Tauli*, that he was a *Christian*. Nevertheless, there were some accused before *Xin*, only for being *Christians*; he accepted the accusation, and remitted it to the Court *Criminall*, whither the highest offenders are sent. They were rigorously examined, and after that declared innocent, with a foule staine upon *Xin*, both of injustice and ignorance.

Neither was the infamy leffe which he received by the words of two great *Mandarines*. The one of them (called *Ho*) in a great assembly of *Letterati*, asked him, For what reasoun he had imprisoned the *Fathers*? and he answering, Because they preached a law contrary to theirs; the other replied, Why do you not then imprison so many others, who follow laws much more contrary to ours, than that of the *Fathers* is? They have not, said *Xin*, any accusers. And these *Fathers*, replied *Ho*, Who accuseth them to your Lordship? He knew not what answier to make him, but seeing himselfe thus confuted, lest there should be a laughte raised at him, he withdrew himselfe out of the *Assembly*. The other, who was *President* of the *Tribunall* of warre, sharply reproved him, that without reasoun he had so mis-uled the *Fathers*, who had committed no fault, nor had ever offended him: And although *Xin* did endeavour to justifie himselfe, yet the *President* threatened to accuse him to the King, for a disturber of the peace of the Kingdome, and in effect he dispatched a *Courrier* to *Pekim*, with a stout *Memorial* against him; which nevertheless he did afterwards re-call, by reason that many *Mandarins* did interpose themselves in the busynesse, but he would never after maintain any friendship with so unjust a person.

Very admirable at the same time was the *Charitie* of a new *Christian* of *Pekim*, who had takenn the degree of *Bachelor*; who having understand of the *Fathers* imprisonment, ranne to *Nankin*; and although he had never seen them, he went to visit them, and much assitthem in their necessities: and not only invited, but also perswaded severall of his friends to do the like; who extended also their *Charitie* to the other *Christian* prisoners: And for this cause only he remained there many months; he accompanid the *Christians* to the *Tribunalls*, healed their stripes, encouraged, and comforted them all; to which the quality and reputation of so grave and learned a person did very much conduce. He undertooke also to dispute with a *Mandarine*, who had written a declaration against the *Fathers* in favour

favour of *Xin*, and used such powerfull persuasions to him, that he changed his resolution, and brought him to favour the Fathers so farre, that he did publiquely praise and extoll them.

In the mean while, our adversary seeing that the Kings answer was delayed, used his utmost endeavour to gain the *Colao* to his party, who was (otherwife) not much averse to us; and at length perswaded him to present a *Memoriall* to the King, by the hands of an *Eunuch*, whom he had already prepared for the businesse with a very great bribe, to procure the Kings order upon it. The *Eunuchs* passed this petition so secretly among themselves, that without showing it to the King, they brought it againe to the *Colao*, requiring him in the Kings name to draw up an order for our banishment; the which he did in this manner.

For as much as we are informed by the Collaterall Lypu of the third Tribunall of Pekim, that there remain in this our Court certain strangers, who do expect our good leave and dispatch; and the said Tribunall hath befaught us, that we would send our orders to the Provinces, that they should send them away to their owne Countries, Alphonsius Vagnone and Jacobus Pantioia with their companions, who under pretence of preaching a certain law, do much disturbance to the people, and also secretly endeavour to make an insurrection in the Kingdom: We do therefore ordaine, that notice be given to the Lypu of Nankim, to give order to the Mandarines of the respective Provinces, wherein any of these men shall be found, that they send them with a guard of soldiery to the Province and City of Canton, to the end they may returne from thence to their owne Countries, leaving China in peace and quietnesse. And because the last year we were given to understand by severall persons, that Jacobus Pantioia and his companions, who came into this Kingdome to enjoy the delights and pleasures thereof, were very fit to be employed in the emendation of our Calender, whereupon they were aggregated to the number of the Mandarines; yet notwithstanding the said aggregation, we will and command, that they be forthwith dismissed, and sent away to their owne Countries. Let this sentence be given to the Lypu and to the Ciayan the twenty eighth of the twelfth Moone.

Afsoon as this Order was drawne up, at the foot of the *Memoriall*, the *Colao* sent it back into the *Palace* to be signed by the King according to the custome. Presently the *Eunuchs* being all gained by the Prefents of *Xin*, fraudulently contrived a way to get it subscribed, or, as some say, they put it among a great heape of petitions, so that the King signed it without taking notice what it was; or as others say, they perswaded the Queen to subscribe it, to whom the King doth often remit the signing of *Memorialls*. And truly it is not very probable, that the King who had lent but a deafe care to so many former *Memorialls*, should be so soone perswaded to it; besides that it is more conformable to the stile of that Court to have sent them rather to some Province lying in the middle of the Kingdom, than to send them away after they had gained so perfect a knowledge and full information of the affaires of *China*. However it was, the sentence was published the fourteenth of *February*, which is the solemne beginning of their new year.

The news was blowne of a sudden through the whole Kingdome: The Mandarines of *Nanchiam* in the Province of *Canton*, where Father *Gaspar Ferrera*

Ferrera was, did in a very quiet and civill manner give him notice of the order, allowing him with all liberty to stay till his companions carne. Notwithstanding, the Father thought it more fit to sell the House, and to retire himselfe to another *Mission*, according to the instructions he had received from Father *Longobardus*. In *Hamla* there were two Fathers, who were brought thither by *D o'four Michael*'s meanes; but they had no notice given them of the Order, the *Mandarines* forbearing, as it seemeth, to do it, out of respect to their Protectour, who writ to the Father superior to send him two more, which accordingly he did with very good successe. Father *John Recca* with two others of *Nanchiam*, where he left Brother *Pasquel Mendez* for the confortolation of those Christians, came to *Chien Chiam* in the Province of *Chiamis*, where he kept himselfe private in the Houses of the Christians, untill the Lord sent better times.

In *Pekim* the *Colao* made excuses to the Fathers, in that he was obliged by his place to give them notice of the Kings Order, promising them alfo his Assistance to hinder their going, in case they shoud think good to present a *Memoriall* to the King to that effect. But all passages were so shut up, that it was impossible for them ever to present one: wherefore giving place to time and necessity, having encouraged the *Christians*, after the distribution of *Palmes*, that very *Sunday* they departed for *Canton*; the *Mandarines* having strictly forbid the people to offer them any injuries by the way: and left the House which the King had granted them in the custody of a good *Christian*, having obtained a licence of the *Mandarines* to that effect.

The greatest stirre was in *Nankim*, wherē afsoon as the *Courier* was arrived, he would needs give notice himselfe to the Fathers of their banishment, thinking it a high favour, that they were not cut in pieces. Afsoon as it was known abroad, the *Mandarines* came to visit them with much honour and congratulations. On the sixt day of *March*, the Fathers were brought first before a *Tribunall* of six *Mandarines*, and after that, before *Xin* to be examined, with a halter about their necks; and Father *Semedo* was brought upon a board, not being able through weaknesse to stand upon his leggs. *Xin* after another examination, declared, That although they had deserved death for preaching a new law in *China*, yet their life was granted them by the Kings clemencie, notwithstanding he condemned them to receive ten *Bafinades* apiece, and so to be sent away to their own Country. Father *Semedo* was excused by reason of his sicknesse. But *Vagnone* received them in so cruel a manner, that he lay very ill upon it, and it was above a moneth before his wounds were clost. In conclusion, their house and goods were confiscated, and many books were published against them, which declared them to be unworthy the name of *Litterati*. They themselves were put into very narrow Cages of wood, (such as are used in that Country to transport persons condemned to death, from one place to another) with Iron Chaines about their necks, and Manacles on their Wrists, with their haire hanging down long, and their Gownes accouerted in an odde fashion, as a signe of a strange and Barbarous people: The thirtieth of *April*, they were brought out of Prison to a *Tribunall*, where they were shut up in those straight Frames,

and sealed with the Kings Seal; and order was given to the *Mandarines* of the Guard, to take them out at such times, as were allowed them to eat and sleep in. In this manner were the Fathers carried with an inexpressible noise, which the Ministers made with their rattling of Fettors and Chaines. Before them were carried three *Tables*, written on with great letters, declaring the Kings Sentence, and forbidding all men to have any commerce or conversation with them.

In this equipage they went out of *Nankim*, and were carried in these Cages for thirty dayes together, untill they came to the first City of the Province of *Canton*, where they were presented to the *Tuan*, who having sharply reproved them for preaching a new law in *China*, caused them to be confined to the *Mandarines*: whence they were carried in that manner throughout all the Tribunals with all the people running after them. In conclusion, they were taken out, and after a few dayes were sent away to *Macao* along with the Fathers which came from *Pekin*.

The *Christians* which remained in Prison, after many sufferings and misusages, were in conclusion, by the power and sollicitation of their adversaries, condemned to receive 70 *Bastinados* apiece. The two Lay-saric *Xin*, condemned to receive 70 *Bastinados* apiece. The two Lay-Brothers, because they were *Chinese*, after severall out-rages and *Bastinados*, were condemned, one of them to serve at the Tartars wall, the other to tow the Kings barges, as Oxen do in our Country. Nevertheless, there was seen in all the *Christians* a wonderfull constancie and joy to suffer for Christ, who shewed so much cheerfulness outwardly, that the *Gentiles* did much admire at it. There was a Woman, who having heard that our Brother *Sebastian Fernandes* had been Tortured at an examination by the squeezing and pinching of his hands and fingers, desired that favour of the Lord, that she herself might likewise undergo it, and her prayer was granted her in part, for being one day in prayer, she saw in a Vision *Xin* sitting on his Tribunall, who commanded her to renounce the Faith of *Christ*, which she not consenting to, he caused the same Torture to be given to her. When the Vision was ended, the Marks were to be seen for some time on her hands, and the black and blue stripes on her body; which was a very great comfort and contentment to her.

C H A P. 10.

How things began to be calmed again after the Persecution; and of the Foundation of severall Residencies.

All the other persecutions, which happened before this of *Nankim*, were particular, and commonly the fire went not farre. For the cause belonging to the *Magistrates* of that Province, the sentence was always given there, without extending it self to the *Residencies* of other remote Provinces.

Provinces. But in this *Persecution* the Tyrant accounted it too meane an enterprize to discharge his choler on the *Christians* of *Nankim* only. And therefore he would strike at the *Christianities* of the whole Kingdom, to root it out at one blow. He presented the cause to the King, that his sentence might include all, with the greater rigour and autorite. But this Tragedie being ended, the *Fathers* being banished from their *Residencies*, their Housles confiscated and sold, the Churches ruined, and that of *Nankim* thrown to the ground by the fury of *Xin*, their goods lost, and finally, the Fathers of *Nankim* sent away from that Court with so much hubub and noise, that it seemed to be the day of Judgment, it is hardly to be believed, how much mischiefe followed upon it, how much good was hindered by it, and how every thing was changed. The *Fathers* lay hid, the *Christians* were in continuall feare, the *Gentiles* encouraged, the Tyrant Victorious, and his followers so free and insolent, that every one was ready to trouble the *Christians*, and to accuse them, especially in the City of *Nankim*.

Nevertheless, *Quia dominus judicavit melius de malis bene facere quam mala nulla esse permittere*, according to his Divine dispensation he drew much good even from these evils. For although the liberty and facilitie of making new *Christians* was impeded at that time; yet it manifested the constancie and valour of those that were already such, all of them shewing how highly they did esteem the being followers of the *Law of God*, and how much they did desire to keep the Fathers in their Kingdom, that they might be still instructed in the Doctrine which they had already received: and so, many of them, which live in other Cities, either sent, or came in person, to receive the Fathers, and carry them to their Housles. Which was the reason, that, except in the two Courts, we found good shelter in other places, whereby the *Christians* were comforted in their sufferings, and confirmed in their *Faith*, and the Churches (I speak not of materiall ones) maintained and upheld, as also many new ones set up, as we shall shew hereafter.

At the Court of *Pekin* there remained two of our Brothers, in the place of Sepulture given us by the King: for being *Chinese* they were not comprehended in the Sentence of banishment, wherefore under pretence of Piety and Devotion, whereof the *Chinese* make great esteem, they remained there to keep it, although with much trouble and many contraiers which they had with the *Eunuchs*: for they, affoon as they saw the Fathers out of the Court, thought the House had been without a head, and that the brothers alone would never have had strength enough to refit their batteries: and therefore it is almost incredible, what attempts they made every way to arrive at their design, and how many times they brought the brothers into the Tribunalls, accusing and troubling them, but alwayes to no effect. For the Lord, who had granted that place to the Fathers, that they might be buried there after their death, would keep it for them, to serve them as a retreate and hiding place, even in their life time, disposing it so by his providence, that *Dodom Paul* should reside in the Court at that time; and that by his autorite he should overthrow all the plots of our enemies.

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Once especially the *Eunuchs* had put their businesse in such a forme, that it seemed impossible for them not to carry their design; partly because they had (as they said) corrupted some of the Magistrates with bribes; and partly (which was more considerable) because they had the *Chi Fu*, or Governoir of the City on their side, to whom they had spoken very effectually concerning the businesse, and he had promised them his favour in it. The worst was, they gave the Brothers such short warning to appear, that they had hardly time to give *Doctor Paul* notice of it, and he to write a letter to the *Gouvernoir* of the City, giving Order to the Servant which carried it, that he should give it him, in what place ever he met him, although it were in the street: and so he did, finding him almost entring into the *Tribunal*; (for in *Pekim* they are without the Houses where they dwell) where there was gathered together a great company of *Eunuchs*, who did already assure themselves of good successe, by reason of the care and diligence they had used in the businesse. The *Gouvernoir* after he had read the letter, called the cause: and the *Eunuchs*, with greater store of words than reasons began to plead for themselves. The Brother being called, did no more but shew his Patent, wherein was contained how the Officer, and former *Gouvernoir*, by Order from the King, had granted that House, and the Gardens therunto adjoyning, for the Sepulture of Father *Mattheus Riccius* and his companions. The *Gouvernoir* took it and read it, and in stead of the favour he was to do the *Eunuchs*, did strengthen it with one Seale more, putting to it the Seale of his Office, and telling the *Eunuchs*, That which is once well done, ought not to be undone. So the suit was ended for the Fathers advantage, not only this, but also many other times; whilst the neer Kindred of the imprifoned *Eunuch* lived, they never gave over their endeavours to re-gain it; whereby they got often some small summes of money, which were given them on purpose to avoyd suits and contrats.

The Brothers, who kept the Houſe, making use of this opportunity, went sometimes one, sometimes another to visit the *Christians* of that City: and after the persecution began to be over, and the fury of the tempeſt was allayed, one of the *Fathers* was ſent thither in diſguife, who although he was glad to lie hid there, yet did he much affiſt the *Christians*, and under the protection of the old ones, converted many new ones also.

The Houſe which we had in *Canton*, the moſt Southerly Province of *China*, was totally ruined, for, althoſh at the beginning there was another ſmall Houſe taken, where ſome of the Lay-Brothers ſhould have reſided for the reception of the *Fathers* in their paſſage to the City of *Nan-kim*, yet upon better conſideration it ſeemed good to them to take it wholly away, becauſe the place was very ſubject to tempeſts and trou‐bles. The *Father* who had his *Refedence* there, as I have already ſaid, went up farther into the Country, as did alſo the Lay-Brother, with a promeſe nevethelieſſe, and obligation upon him, to come and viſit the *Christians* of that Country every year.

Father *Rocca*, with other two *Fathers*, who, (as we have ſaid,) de‐parted from *Nankim*, a City in the Province of *Kiamſi*, retired to the City of *Kienchang*, in the ſame Province, where they were viſited by a *Christian*, named

Stephen, of a Noble Family, and one of the chiefeſt of that place, being alſo the Sonne of a *Mandarine*, who was afterwards himſelf converted to the *Christian Religion*. The *Fathers* at their arrivall there, were received with all manner of *Christian* love and charitie, and were lodged in a houſe neerto the walls of the City, ſuch a one as they cal a *House of Studies*, where they had an appartement provided for them, conſiſting of four chambers, with the Offices belonging to them, and a faire Hall, which ſerved them for a Chappel. At the beginning there came thither only thoſe of the houſhold of their Hoſt, who were all *Christians*. Afterward, their Kindred who were *Gentiles*, and their moſt familiar acquaintance, and by occaſion of theſe Viſits, there was alwayes ſome one or other gained to the Faith; and theſe likewiſe brought in others; and fo by little and little this *Christianity* encreaſed fo, that when I came thither about two years after, they ſaid *Maffe* on Holy dayes, with Muscial Instruments, and with the con‐courſe of a good number of *Christians*. They who played on the Inſtruments, were the Sonnes of *Christians*, and among them the *Letterati*, and thoſe of the beſt quality ſerved at the *Maffe* in their coates fourē at a time, as I ſaw at my being there. At this day there is a good *Refedence*, with a copious and well inſtruſted *Christianity*, which bath annexed to it two Churches in the Province of *Chincho*, which bordereth upon it, and are viſited every year by the *Father* of this Houſe.

The *Refedence* of *Hanchen* doth flouriſh moſt of all under the Protection of *Dr. Michael*. For though the *Fathers* went out from thence publicly at noone day, that the world might take notice of their obedience to the Kings proclamation, accompanied by the ſaid *Dr.* and the *Christians* of the beſt quality; yet *Dr. Michael* having prepared a faire appartement in his *Palace*, provided with Chambers, Offices, Chappel, Hall, &c. did build alſo a new range of Chambers, furniſhing them all after our faſhion, that there might be roome enough for all of us, if there ſhould be occaſion on; and when he had fittē everything, he ſent for the *Fathers*, who came thither very ſecreſtely, althoſh he was not very ſolicitous to conceale them: But three years after told *Xin*, who being a native of that City, was now come to live at his owne *Palace*, That he had the *Fathers* with him in his houſe, and perfwaded him to come and viſit them, and diſcource with them, Telling him, he ſhould finde them other manner of men than he took them for.

This houſe was in theſe troubleſome times the moſt ſecure, comodi‐ous, and eaſie refuge, which the *Fathers* had. Here lived the *Superior*, hither came all buſineſſe, and upon any ſtrate, the greaſte part of the *Fathers*, who ſometimes made a conſiderable number: and althoſh there was care taken, that no *Gentile* ſhould come in amongst them, unleſs he were very well knowne, nevethelieſſe, there was *Maffe* ſaid, and a ſermon every Holy day, with a great concurſe of *Christians*, and a good number of new ones converted to the faith.

The greaſte tempeſt fell upon the Church at *Nankim*: for as the *Fathers* were priſoners a long time there, and after they had received their ſentencē, were ſent out in cages, being carried through the whole City with a great noife and ſhouting of the guard, and an infinite concurſe of people,

people, their case was more notorious and ignominious, and the Gentiles were more alienated from the Christians, accusing them upon every occasion to the Magistrate. Wherefore for diverse years after there was almost every year some particular vexation, and the Christians were brought before the Tribunals, and troubled, and many times were *Bastinadoed*, all which they suffered with great constancy and cheerfulness, *gaudentes à conspectu Concilij quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu consumelum pati*. Neither truly is there any doubt, but as the Lord did exercise this Church of Nankim with particular tribulations, so he did also endow it more particularly with the virtue of Patience, as was seen upon all occasions.

In this manner were our ancient houses demolished, although the Christians belonging to them, were preferred, who divided themselves into companies, making by that means severall Co-fraternities: the most ancient and pious among them did visit and comfort the rest: the Fathers also at certaine times came to confess and communicate them, and staid amongst them as long as they could: But as they durst not stay long, at least in some places, they were forced to find out other places of abode, which was an occasion of laying the foundation of new Residencies, which were afterwards brought to perfection, and became well ordered Houses and Churches, as they are to be seen at this present time.

The first Residence, which was begun in the time of our troubles and Banishment, was in the Province of Kiamſi, in the City of Kienchang, whereof I have formerly spoken.

The second was the Province of Nankim in the City of Kiatim, where Dr. Ignatius dwelt, a Christian of great power and authority, who was afterwards Vice roy of the Province of Xantum: he, assoone as he had notice of the sentence pronounced against the Fathers, immedately dispatched one of his Sonnes to Father Lazarus Cataneus, who lived in Hamchew, with a letter, wherein after the usuall complements, he wrote him only these words, *There is a busynesse of importance, which I must necessarily treate of with your Reverence before you leave this Kingdome*. When this letter was brought to the Fathers, they were putting themselves in a readinesse to depart out of that City, as accordingly they did, with a designe to go to Xanbai, which was Dr. Pauls Country: but having received this invitation, that they might give satisfaction to both parties, the Fathers divided themselves, and Father Francis Sanbjas, went to the City of Kiatim to Dr. Ignatius, who, by that time the Father arrived there, had got ready the lodgings neere his house, which served him for a place of study, and stood within the walls of his Palace, being very convenient for his occasions, having severall Chambers and a Chappel to say Mass in, and being provided with all necessary furniture: and although that Chappel was bigge enough for the reception of the Christians of his owne household: yet nevertheless, he did afterwards build in the same place a faire Church, which though it was not very great, yet was of perfect good Architecture. The Fathers did afterwards draw many people to them by their preaching and discourses; so that when I was there about four years after, I found a well formed Christianity, very devout, and both men, women and children, very diligent in hearing of Mass and sermons, as also in confessing themselves, with such

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an affection to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, that they seemed even Christians brought up in Europe. I forbear to mention many examples of much edification, referring my Reader to the yearly letters.

This House also served for an Academie to our people that came newly over: for the City being very private, and having but little trade, and the Houses being spacious and convenient, they who were to study the Chinese language and letters, did constantly come thither: so that the number of Fathers and Students (who were Christians of Macao, whom we bred up and instructed in vertue and the learning of China, that they might afterward be helpefull to us in propagating the Gospel) was about eleven or twelve, which considering the time, was a great number.

Father Cataneus went to Xanbai, where he laboured in the same manner, confirming the old Christians, and adding new ones continually to the Church. In the meane time Dr. Paul came from Court to his owne house, and by his presence gave a greater libertie, with lesse danger to preach and reduce that people: So that the Baptimes grew to such a number, that the Father was forced to write for assistance, and to call a companion to him, and sometimes they were three, and Dr. Paul, to enlarge that Church, did in a manner pull it all downe, and build it a new; and so it continueth to this day with a very numerous Christianity belonging to it.

At the same time began the Residence of Xamſi, which hath at this day belonging to it, one of the most flourishing Christianities of all China. It had its beginning by occasion of a Christian named Peter, who went to be Mandarine in that Province, and carried with him Father Julius Alexis, that he might be there in safetie under his protection, and that he might also prove the disposition of that people, whether they would be apt to entertaine the preaching of the Gospel in a place where the Fathers had never yet come; and although the House was not perfected at that time, yet things were put in such order, that it was brought afterwards to perfection with much facilitie, as we shall shew anon.

In Macao they were more particularly sensible of the successse of the Persecution and troubles, by which, fourte Fathers of the two Courts were brought prisoners to that Colledge. Nevertheless, by the resentment of those troubles, their desires were more inflamed to enter afresh upon the work, and to assist their brethren, who remained behinde, exposed to all dangers and sufferings, labouring under the heavie burthen of the Propagation of the Gospel. All the difficultie was, how to get the fourte Fathers backe againe, by reason they were so well knowne there, and were particularly named in the proclamation for their Banishment: it was judged therefore more fit for them to delay their returne for while, during which time the Lord was pleased to take to himselfe the Fathers of Pekim, namely, Father Jacobus Pantoiia, and Father Sabatinus de Uſſi: who having been the ancientest labourers in that vine-yard, were called first of all to receive their reward. It was more dangerous for the other two Fathers of Nankim to returne backe againe, by reason their banishment was more publique; they having been carried before many Tribunals, and through severall Provinces, during that Persecution. Nevertheless, Father Alvarus Semedo, who had lived there a lesser time, and consequently was lesse knowne,

knowne, returned back about three years after, having changed the name and Sir-name, which he used in that Country ; and about two years after that, Father *Vagno* did the like, who is there living at this day in the Court of *Xanf*, where, although he be growne very old, yet is he as painfull and diligent, as any young man whatsoeuer.

In this condition stood the state of *Christian* affaires, which still prospered and encraved in every place, by the great industrie and caution which was used ; as also by the protection of some *Christians* of quality, as likewise of some *Gentiles* that were our friends ; and by this means the ancient Churches were confirmed, and some new ones set up ; when the second tempest began in *Nankim*, which although it were not so great as the first, because it came not to the Kings ears, ye was it fuller of trouble and vexation to us.

C H A P. II.

*Of the second persecution of Nankim, and
of the Martyrdome of a Christian,
named Andrew,*

The affaires of *Christianitie* in *China* seemed to be in a calme and prosperous condition, and we had almost as much libertie, and as much fruit of our endeavours as we could reasonably have expected. Only in the City of *Nankim*, which was much distempered by reason of the former *Persecution*, there were alwayes some troubles more or lesse, according as the occasion happened ; but the best was, that they were never so great, that many persons were engaged in them. In the year 1622, in the Province of *Xantum*, there happened a rebellion by a certain people of a sect which they call *Palien Kiao*, whereof we have formerly spoken in its proper place. These assaulted and tooke the barques laden with victuals, which passed through that *Province* to *Pekim* ; and after that, certain Townes, and last of all, they tooke a City, where they put very many to the sword. This news presently alarmed the neighbouring *Provinces*, and especially the Court ; whence the *Mandarines* immediately dispatched orders through the whole Kingdome for the apprehending and chastising all people of this *Sect*. In the more remote *Provinces*, there was no great heed taken to this *Proclamation* ; but in the Province of *Nankim*, which bordereth upon that of *Xantum*, there were great rewards proposed to him that should discover any of that *Sect*.

It happened about that time, that certain *Sergeants* did molest and trouble a neighbour of a certain *Christian*, who going out to help him, because he saw him much injured without any pretence of reason for it, drew them all upon himselfe, who following of him into his house with much rage and passion, & finding there a *Croffe* & an *Image* of our *Saviour*, they tooke them and carried them to the *Mandarine*, accusing that *Christian* to be a follower of the *Law of the Lord of Heaven*, which was all one with that

that of the *Palien Kiao*. The *Mandarine* sent to apprehend him, and giving him the rack, he questioned him, who were the other followers of his *Sect*. He named only, the *Paynters*, who had paynted the *Images*, and was also a *Christian*. He being apprehended and tormented in the same manner, (whether it were through ignorance, or that it seemed to him, that he did by that means give greater authority to the law he followed,) impeached many of his companions, naming at least fourty, and among them those who were left as heads and overseers of the rest ; and in absence of the *Fathers*, did assemble the rest in the *Ghappels* and *Oratories*, where they used to exhort them to virtue and piety.

Upon this, rather simple confession, than malicious accusation, the *Mandarine* sent presently to apprehend those persons who had been named to him, so that it seemed as if the furies of hell had been turned loose that day into *Nankim*. There was no other noise heard in the streets, but rattling of chaineis, the voyses and exclamations of the *Sergeants*, who asked, Where is the houer? Whither is he gone? Where shall I finde him? When will he come? Being so much the more eager in their pursuit of the *Christians*, by how much the more they saw the *Mandarines* bent to ruine them. When they found out any one of them, they presently rushed into the house, &c. seized upon their *Beads*, *Croffes*, *Images*, *Books*, *Catechisme*, for commonly all of them used to have them in their houses. Then they seized on their persons, dragging them through the streets with a chaine fastened about their necks, and manacles about their wrists, carrying before them the ensignes of their faith which they had taken, with a great noise, and out-cry of the people, that they were of the *Sect* of *Palien Kiao*. The number of those who were taken was thirty four, beside the two first, and they were all presently put to the torment of pressing their hands and feet, to make them discover others. But they taking warning by the ignorance of the two first, laid only that they were *Christians*, they and their wives and children ; that they followed the *Law of the true God*, who alone can punish and reward both in this life and the next ; and that their law was not the law of *Palien Kiao*, neither had it any resemblance to it : and more than this they said not any thing.

Among the prisoners there was a certain *Christian* named *John Yao*. This man had been formerly imprisoned (as we have already related) with the *Fathers* in the other persecution by *Xin*, & had been sometimes *Bastindado* before the *Tribunals*, & was at last condemned to be the Kings slave for certain years (which is much like putting into the Gallies with us:) but was now returned from his slavery, and began again to edifie the brethren by the example of his holy life, in the same maner as he had formerly done in that City. This man hearing that some *Christians* were apprehended, and that they fought for him, never staid till he was discovered, but went of his owne accord and presented himselfe to the *Mandarine*, and kneling in the sight of the *Christians* that were tormented, told him, that he was a *Christian*, and that the *Law of Christ* was the true law, and other such like things which the Lord put in his heart. When the *Mandarine* heard him, he told him (with what intention is not knowne) that he did not see in him any garbe or appearance of a preacher of the law, and therefore charged him

him to be gone, and never to appear before him again. Whereupon John rose up and went his way, leaving an eminent Testimony of the Divine Law, and the Chineses astonished at so great a courage.

Such another thing was done by the same *Mandarine*, although the end and reason which moved him to do it, were not known. Of the six and thirty which he had apprehended and tormented, he set four and twenty of them at liberty; and the others who did use to assemble the Christians, and preach to them, he sent before the six chief Tribunals; where they were all *Bastinaded*, some at one, and some at another, the worst Tribunal of all being that of an *Eunuch*, who having nothing of Humanity in him but his outward shape, not considering they had bin already tormented and *Bastinaded* by the other *Mandarines*, commanded twenty blows a piece to be giving to each of them; by which the good Christians were so weakened, that they were faine to be laid upon boards, and to be carried back upon mens shoudiers into Prison.

But they were not used so by the *Queen* (who is equal to one of our Dukes) before whom they were brought: for seeing them in so miserable a condition by reason of the torments and stripes they had received, he did not only not cause them to be beaten, but complaining of their ill usage, said publickly, That he was well informed concerning the Religion they professed; and that it was a good and true Law, and so sent them away with good words; that *Gentile* giving a cleare Testimony to our *Holy Faith*, to which those Christians had born witness with their blood.

While these things were doing, the chief *Mandarine* of the six before whom they were presented, drew up the Sentence against them; which being faithfully translated out of the Chinese language, runneth thus: *The Law of the Lord of heaven is false, it blindeth the understanding of men, and causeth dangerous assemblies. Of late years there was a Memorial presented against it to the King, who did very severely prohibit it. And now they who follow that Law, are convinced not to have obeyed his commands. Wherefore according to the Lawes of the Kingdom there ought to be an inquisition made against them, and they to be rigourously punished. But considering they are men of little knowledge, or understanding, we do order, that the strangers of other Countries be sent home with a Guard to convoy them, and that they shall all have the charges of their journey defrayed out of the Kings exchequer: but for the Natives of this Court, we condemn them to carry a board about their necks for a moneth (which is a kind of punishment we have formerly given an account of) and when that time is expired, they shall be carried before the Tribunal, where they were examined, and there they shall be admonished to observe the Kings orders, and not to follow this Law any longer. The Books, Images, and such like things, which were found with the Christians, shall be kept in the Kings Treasurie. Thus farre the sentence of their condemnation.*

The Fathers had heard nothing of these proceedings at Nankim, when they arrived at *Hanchen*, which is distant from that Court about six daies journey by land, a Christian sent on purpose to give them notice of the dangerous estate and condition of the Christians at Nankim. Father *Rocca* Superior of the Mission chanced to be at that time in *Hanchen*, who presently endeavoured to find some remedie for it, by speaking with Doc-

tour *Michael*, and writing to Doctor *Paul*, that by their letters they would perswade the *Mandarines* of *Nankim* to shew some favour to the Christians, which accordingly they did, with much zeal and efficacie, especially Doctor *Paul*, who observed to them in his writings fourteen principall poynts, wherein our *Holy Law* did differ from the *Sect* of *Palten Kiao*. The letters had not that effect that was hoped of them, some of the *Mandarines* being rendered very averse to them by the power and perswasion of *Xin*, who actually enjoying at that time the dignity of *Colo*, every one endeavoured to gain his favour by following his inclinations. And that was plainly seen by their answers, which are not wont to be in such termes to *Mandarines* of so considerable Quality as those Christians were. The answer to Doctor *Paul* was, that the *Law*, which his *Lordship* said was different from that *Sect* of *Palten Kiao*, was not so, but the very same, both of them professing not to obey the King nor his Ministers, as was plainly to be seen by the *Fathers*, who being banished out of the Kingdom by the Kings order, yet were so audacious, that they still remained there, and other things of the same straine; which evidently shewed, that they who gave such answers, were changed, as also for whole fake they gave them.

This unpleasing answer was followed by a thing of greater danger, for in China, even in the quietest times, it is necessary to live very retired and reservedly which was the Intelligence, that Doctor *Paul* had received, how that, not many daies before, two *Mandarines* of the same City of *Nankim* had presented a *Memorial* to the King against the *Law of Christ*; both against the Chinese who were followers of it, as also the *Fathers*, that did preach and propagate it, accusing Doctor *Michael* by name for being a Christian, and for keeping the *Fathers* in his House; they did also accuse severall others for keeping of them; and although they did not name Doctor *Paul*, yet it might be easily understood, that they meant him for one.

This news did require their most serious deliberation, for when a busynesse is brought before the King, it is alwayes of dangerous consequence, and doth ever shave or flea.

Doctor *Paul* immediately wrote to the *Fathers*, that in what place soever they were, they should without any farther delay resolve to retie themselves, and to break off all commerce with all manner of persons whatsoever, although they thought them never so safe or trusly, giving way to the necessity of the times, as at that present was very convenient for them. Doctor *Michael* was of the contrary opinion; at least he would not suffer those which lived in his own House to hide themselves. Doctor *Ignatius* his Sonne also, who dwelt in the City of *Kiasim*, was of opinion, that the *Fathers* should keep themselves private and concealed; for if any thing should be decreted to their disadvantage, it could not be executed so suddenly, but that there would be time enough for them to make their escape, especially since the *Mandarines* of the City were their friends.

Although this were a very young man, yet his *Father*, who lived then at the Court, was much satisfied with his opinion in that case. Nevertheless, it was judged more expedient, that we should withdraw ouelves,

selves, before the storm appeared, and that afterward those, who could not hide themselves, should fly, before they were apprehended by justice. But the difficulty was, where to find another secret place beside that where we were, which was in a very populous City, and among many of our trusty and faithfull friends: and because it was so difficult to lie hid in that place, we did think of searching out some desert, but by reason that China is so populous, that was no easie thing to be done. At length it was resolved, that we should all quit the habitations we were in, some going to the Country Housles of the same Christians, some to the sepulchres of others, with a caution, that if there did not come a favourable answer from the King, there should be boates provided in a readinesse for to carry them up and down the Rivers, where the not remaining long in any certain place, would be a good way to secure them, till the Lord should direct them to a better.

During this time, Doctor Paul kept a man on purpose in the City of Szechuan (where the Vice roy of the Province hath his Residence, for he may not dwell in the City of Nankim, because it is the Kings Court, as well as Pekim) that assoon as the Kings answer came, he might presently bring him word of it: and according to the stile of that Country, it was conceived, that it might be delayed yet many dayes. The Fathers expected ten weeks to their great discommodation and inconvenience, because those things which might easily have been had in the Towns and Cities, could not be come by but with a great deale of trouble, as they lay thus hid; neither did any answer come in all this time: for which there were severall reasons given, but the best seemed to be, that these Memorials against our Holy Faith were sent with an Order, that they shoudl first be registered by Xin, for whose sake they were presented, who at the same time was put out of his Office. So that when the Memorials came, he had now no power nor authority to preferre them; and so they were not presented at all; for if they had been presented, whether the King had answere them or no, we should have been sure to have had notice of it. Thus the storm ended, which seemed to threaten us with a greater danger; and the effect of it was turned upon Xin, although upon another occasion: for it is most certain, that at the same time, when the Petitions against the Law of Christ were sent from the Southern to the Northern Court, the King took away his Office of Colao, by reason the Mandarines of Pekim had petitioned against him; and although they had endeavoured his disgrace for 16 months before, yet they could never bring it about till then. So that it seemeth, the Lord did reserve the fall of this Tyrant, for that time wherein he might have done the greatest mischiefe, and would shew us, what trust and confidence we ought to have in him upon the like occasions.

Our Doctors being of the opinion, that the Memorials, neither were, nor would be presented, the Fathers returned all to their Ancient Residences; although they were obliged to use more caution, and to make fewer assemblies; and this the rather, because they did not yet receive good news from Nankim, where there were new edicts published against the Christian Religion: which news, although on the one side it occasioned much grief to the Fathers, yet on the other side it gave them much comfort

fort by the relation of the Martyrdom of a certein Christian, called Andrew, concerning whose life and actions very much might be said, and especially of that courage and constancy which he shewed in all the torments they gave him: which is so much the more admirable in a Chinaman; because that Nation is by nature very cowardly and timorous: yet we have had certain experience, that even to this day the Christian Chinamen, in all occasions of Persecutions and Troubles that have happened to them, have ever continued firme in the Faith: (so that by the grace of God they have not been wanting to Martyrdom, but Martyrdom hath been wanting to them,) as was seen in thole of Nankim, and was proved in this good Christian Andrew.

This Andrew was borne in the Province of Kiangsi, where after he had lived many years, he remov'd from thence into the Province of Nankim, where having had some information concerning our religion, he came to the Fathers; and after he had been well instructed by them in the principall points of our Faith, he received Baptisme from them, together with the name of Andrew. Some few daies after his whole familie was Baptized by the hand of Father Rocca, who was Superior there at that time. After his Baptisme, Andrew became a pattern and example to the rest of the Christians, by endeavouring to communicate to others the good which he had received, and to draw others to Christ, which succeeded very happily, verily many being Baptized by his persuasions. He had a great devotion to the B. Virgin, and was the most zealous man of a whole fraternitie, which befor the Persecution of Nankim was dedicated to her in our Church there: and after that, when the Fathers were banished, he built an oratory in his owne houle to the honour of that Holy Mother; whether he used to assemble the Christians, and to exhort them to devotion and obseruance of our Holy Law. At the time the Fathers were imprisoned there, and the other Christians were divided into five priols, he without any fear of that danger to which he did expose himselfe, tooke upon him to serve them, to visit, comfort and assit them, especially the Fathers, with many almes at his owne expence; not being content to performe these offices of Charite in his owne person only, he employed in them also a little boy that was his sonne, whom he sent to the Fathers, that they might make use of him to send him of errants, and other little occasions. Likewise at our return thither, he lent us his house for our habitation when we went to visit the Christians of that place, and for an Infirmary, or Hospital, when any were fick, whom he served and tooke care of with great charity and affection. These and other good works did the Lord pay him by crowning him with Martyrdom, and making him to suffer death for his sake. The good old man patiently suffered the torments and Bastinadoes abovementioned; and when as the last which he received, beside that they were very cruell ones, were also laid on upon the wounds and stripes, but lately inflicted on him before other Tribunals, it is no wonder, that an old man, who though he were strong in courage, yet was but weake in body, should render his life to the violence of those torments; since the youngest of those Christians, and those of the most robust complexion did hardly escape with life. Thus he dyed, leaving that Church much edified by his good example, and much afflicted

afflicted for the losse of him. For he was, as it were a *Father* to them all, and in the absence of the *Fathers*, a *Master*. He was buried decently in a particular Sepulchre by himselfe, to the end that one day he may have those honours, which are due to him, performed with greater solemnitie.

C H A P. 12.

How things began to be quiet and settled, and how the Fathers were sent for to Court by order of the Mandarines.

IN the mean time there came better news from Nankim, whither the *Fathers* had sent a man on purpose, with letters from themselves, as also from our *Dottours*, to comfort and strengthen the *Christians* there in their afflictions and troubles; although the Lord had so filled their hearts with courage and contentment, that they had little need of any humane consolation on this man returned with a confirmation of the news, which was already spread abroad, assuring them that all things were quiet: the same also was written by the *Christians* in their letters. For the *Mandarines*, seeing that the plot did not take, and that the *Memorials* were not presented at Pekim, and on the other side, that *Xin* was turned out of his Office, they presently changed their stile and opinion; they set the *Christians* at liberty, and also moderated the punishment that had been imposed upon them. Only there remained in prison three *Christians* of Chincheo, who expected every day to be sent into their owne Province, as it afterwards fell out. From Pekim also to the *Father*, who lay hid there, wrote, that all the hopes of our enemies of Nankim were quite overthrown at that Court; and that the face of things was so changed, since the departure of *Xin*, that our friends did counsell him to treat with the Christian *Mandarines*, and such other of them, as (although they were Gentiles, yet) had a good affection for us, to finde out some way for him to go publickly abroad, and for us to be introduced thither againe.

By this time there had six or seven years passed, since the first *Persecution* of Nankim; and the *Tartars* made a cruell warre upon the *Chinesses*, and had already not only defeated severall of their armies, but also gained diverse places from them in the Province of *Laotum*; neither did they well know which way to put a stop to the advance of their army. Nevertheless, the *Fathers* did endeavour to finde some way to manifest themselves to the Kingdome, and to appear in publick, according to the tenour of what had been written them from Pekim: But because their banishment was decreed by the King, they found no small difficulty in the busynesse. Notwithstanding, the *Christians*, and the *Dottours* that were our friends resolved to frame a *Memoriall*, taking the occasion from the warre with the *Tartars*, and the extremities to which the *Chinesses* were reduced, and to present it to the King, setting forth in the first place the misfortunes of the warre, the mortality and damages which they had received; the losse of their

their Townes and Cities, without having been able for the space of so many years, after such infinite expence of treasure and losse of men, either to divert or stop the course of that calamitie. In the second place they did remonstrate the error, which was committed in banishing the *European Fathers*, who, beside that they were virtuous, learned, and men capable of the management of great affaires, they were also very great *Mathematicians*, who without doubt had particular secrets, and extraordinary inventions, which might be made use of to their extraordinary advantage in that great straite wherein the Kingdom was at present: and that if they were in the Court, as they had formerly been, that they would be able to reduce the affaires of state into a better condition. Last of all they added, that it was probable, that they were not all yet departed, and that it was not possible, that so many men should be able to passe through so great a Kingdom, through so many straite and uncouth waies; That his Majesty should do well to give order for diligent search to be made through the whole Kingdom, to see if any of them were still to be found there, and to send for them to Court, that they might be serviceable to him in this present conjuncture of the warre.

The *Fathers* made great opposition against this particular means which was taken for their re-establishment; by reason they were altogether ignorant in matters of warre and armes, and all thinnes belonging to that profession: and therefore they did not thinke it convenient, that they should be petitioned for under that pretence. To this, as I understand, Dr. Leo who was one of the chief *Actours* in this Tragedie, presently made answer, *Fathers*, let not this trouble you, for this pretence of arms shall stand us in no more stead, then the needle deth a Taylour, who when he hath drawne through the thred he foweth with, and the garment is finished, prently taketh the needle away; let your Reverences once get in by the Kings order, and the armes to fight with, shall be turned into pens to write. In conclusion, the *Memoriall* was drawn up very well; they having excellent skill to frame a petition after their manner; it was presented in the *Chancery of Petitions*, and they tooke such paines in solliciting their friends, that they got it passed, and presented to the Kings hands, with such good successe, that immediately he made a favourable reference of it to the *Councill of warre*; who did not only favour the disigne, but added also, that they did verily beleive, that the *Fathers* by their skill in the *Mathematicks* would be able so to enchant the *Tartars*, that they should not be able to manage their armes against them. They therefore immediately gave order, that they should be sought out with all possible diligence: But there was no need to take much pains to finde them out, for he that was to seeke them, knew well enough where to have them.

Father Rocca, our *Superior*, who resided at that time in the *Southern parts*, had presently news of the Kings order; & that he was to send two *Fathers* to that Court. It is almost incredible what joy there was both among the *Fathers* & the rest of the *Christians*, they knowing, that this was the most certain way, for the *Fathers* to returne publickly into the Kingdom, & for the propagation of the *Gospel*, with the same libertie they formerly enjoyed.

Father Nicolas Longobardus and *Father Emmanuel Dias* were named for this expedition;

expedition, who assoone as they had fitted themselves for their journy, departed for *Pekim*; where they made their entrance publickly. And becafe some years had now passed, since beards of the *European fashion* had been seen in that City, there was so great a concourse of people to see them, that they could hardly make their way through them. The first thing they did, was to present themselves to the *Tribunal of warre*, (the care of seeking them out having been recommended to the *Mandarines* of that *Tribunal*) who received them with all manner of courtesy and civility, and proffered to take the care themselves of their lodging and accommodation, which the *Fathers* would by no means accept, excusing themselves, that they had not yet merit enough to accept of their offer: but gave them very great thanks, and promised to receive their kindeste, when they should see a fit time for it. But the true reason was, partly that they might not be burthensome to them, and partly that they might remain the freer by having the leffe obligation to be employed in their affaires of warre; under which title they had been brought in thither. As for a House, it seemed good to the *Christians*, that they should returne to that, where they had formerly made their abode for so many years, and where they were yet well knowne and beloved of the neighbourhood: Besides that, by that means the world would more clearly understand, upon how little reason they were banished; and moreover, they should have building of a new Church, the old one having been bought on purpose by a *Christian*: only there was great need of reparying, for the buildings of *China*, consisting principally of wood, are not so strong and lasting as ours: But *Dr. Ignatius*, who resided at that time in the Court, tooke upon him to repair all at his owne charges, and did accommodate them very excellently, especially the Church; and when every thing was ready, the Fathers went thither to dwell; where they do yet inhabit to this very day, medling only with such things as belong to their profession, without being ever spoky to concerning warre, *Tartars* or *Armes*.

The affaires of the Court being thus happily accomplished, and the *Fathers* dwelling freely and openly in their ancient Houle, they began to set on foote their former exercises. They did cultivate and perfect the knowledge of the *Christians*; they preached to the *Gentiles*; they received the visits, which the *Mandarines* and their friends did pay them, with the same familiaritie as formerly, and without any other cautions, but such as are at all times necessary in *China*. This securitie and libertie in the Court by publique approbation, was in a little while after communicated to the other Houlies, where the rest of the *Fathers* did reside. So that by little and little, preaching and other exercises of religion were so happily increased and enlarged, that in the year 1628, and 29, whilst we lived peaceably in the places of our abode, a doore was opened to the *Gospel*, and the way cleared to the conversion of the *Gentiles*, without finding any opposition, or resistance, to the desigues which God had encouraged us to undertake; although it was alwaies necessary to make some *Magistrate* our friend in the place of our employment.

In the same measure that our libertie increased, the *Gospel* was likewise divulged in several parts; new Residencies were set up, with Houlies and

2^dnd Churches belonging to them, and *Fathers* were sent to make their abode at them. Two, beside Oratories, were instituted in the Province of *Fokien*, both of them very numerous in *Christians*. In the Province of *Xanji*, there was one set up, and in that of *Xensi*, another, as also another in the Province of *Honan*, all which do flourish at this day in a copious *Christianitie*. At my departure thence, there was another beginning, which is now finished, having a Church and some store of *Christians*, and they did resolve to send some *Fathers* to reside there. But because hereafter there will be an account given of them all in particular, I will stay no longer upon this subject.

The *Fathers* returned to their ancient Houses, (which were five in all before the persecution) after they had repaired and put them in some handsome condition. That of *Pekim*, (with the accommodation of the House and Church, as is above-said,) had three *Fathers*, &c one Lay-Brother, who laboured very successfully in increasing the number of *Christians*. That of *Hamcheu* had a new House and Church, and more spacious than the former; which was indeed very necessary, by reason of the great number of *Christians*, both Old and new ones, of which there are some made everyday. That of *Kiamsi* had likewise a new Church and Houle situated in the most publique Street of that City. That of *Canton* was let alone, not only because (before) it could not be continued as the rest were; but also out of confideration that it was better to leave a place so subject to stormes and troubles, and in stead thereof to take another, where we might find more profit and security. Nevertheless, the *Christians* there are very carefully visited every year,

At the Houle of *Nankin* we had enough to do, for the *Christians* of that Church could not endure, that they having been the first in persecutions and troubles, and the most exercized in them, should be the last in spirituall favours, and not only the last, but even when other Houlies were well provided with *Fathers*, their Church only should want them. The *Fathers* also did much desire a Residency there, & did therefore very frequently visit them. But to set up a publique and open Houle, was very difficult, by reason of the persecutions that had happened there. But at length, all difficulties were overcome, & a Residency was instituted there, although it were late first; which, next under *God*, we owe to *Dr. Paul*, who that he might always do good, did this even after his death, in thismanner.

The *Fathers* had no other hope of this busynesse, but the opportunity of some *Christian Mandarine* or friend, who should come to governe that City, that under his protection they might be introduced with greater facility and security. It happened about that time, that a Disciple of *Doctor Paul* was sent thither to be *President of the Councell of Warre*; and as the *Doctor* was very vigilant in this matter, he presently helped the *Fathers* to that which they desired; that *Mandarine* being of great authority, and being his Disciple, he would do whatsoever he should require of him. This overture pleased the *Fathers* very well: and because they would send thither an experienced person, the place being of such great danger and such great importance, they did for some time retard the execution of it, because they were to take a *Father* away from some other Place, which

so was to remaine unprovided. In the meane while *Doctor Paul* fell sick, who was at that time actually *Cela* in the Court; yet did not his sicknesse hinder him from writing and sending a letter to the *Mandarine* in favour of us. But his sicknesse increasing, by that time the letter arrived at *Nankin*, the good *Doctor Paul* was gone to a better life. But the *Mandarine* received the letter, (which the *Father* gave him with some hesitation) not as from a dead friend, but from a living Master: he received also the Father from a dead friend, but from a living Master: he received also the Father with all demonstrations of courtesy and good will. By his favour and order a House was taken; and the other *Mandarines* seeing how he used the Father, to please him (for all desire to second the great one,) they did likewise shew him many favours, not only with their authority and frequent visits, but also by giving him money toward the buying of the Houses. In this manner was that Chuch well provided for, and the *Christians* comforted, who have been since very much encreased.

About that time, which was in the year 1632 the affaires of that Church did proceed in a much different manner, from what they had done formerly, so that it seemed that those stormes had only raised the little barque of that Church to a greater height; not only in the number of the *Baptized*, which without comparison every year encreased, but also the peace and quiet they enjoyed, and the liberty they had to preach: so that there was a generall knowledge of our *Holy belief* dispersed over the whole Kingdome; insomuch that there is hardly a place in it, whither, either by books written upon that subject, or by the acquaintance of *Christians*, or by the report of *Gentiles* themselves, it is not arrived; and this not only in the innermost parts of the Kingdome, where for the most part the *Fathers* are employed, but also in the skirts and extremities thereof. I will bring some examples, which will clearly demonstrate it.

There came sometimes to the City of *Macao* (which is inhabited by *Portugheses*, and is scituated on the Confines of *China*) some *Christian Mandarines* about state affaires; who have not only publickly declared themselves to be *Christians*, but have also made it appear that they were well instructed in the principles of our faith; and have carried themselves with so much edification and sanctity of life in the exercise of all *Christian virtues*, that they have much edified that people, and may be examples to *Christians* of much greater antiquity.

In the year 1631 the *Portugheses* ships setting saile from *Macao* toward *Gippon* (as usually they do every year) about the hight of *Fokien* a Province of *China*, one of the ships was cast away, and all the men drowned, except only 12 persons, who saved themselves in the long boate almost by miracle, by reason it happened in the night, and the wind blew very strong, and the seas ran exceeding high: yet at length with much ado; although they had neither needle nor compasse, they came a shore, and landed in the said Province of *Fokian*. Presently the people flocked about the poor shipwreck men who had more need of food and cloathing than of being examined who they were; but because the *Hollanders* (of whom the *Chineſſes* have a very ill conceit) did use about that time to exercise much piracy and robbery upon those coasts, they put them in pris'on, where by reason they were not only strangers, but were also accounted enemies, they

they endued extraordinary want & misery. Many people went to see them out of curiosity, because they were strangers, who as they are seldom admitted into that Country, are thought a rare spectacle. Among the rest, there were some *Christians* (which is that I would shew) who were led to see them out of the same curiosity that others had: and taking notice that they carried beads, and crosses about them, and that they used to say over their beads, they judged them to be of the same profession as themselves were: therefore they made diligent enquirie about it, and being assured that they were *Christians*, although they were stricktly forbid to shew them any kindness, yet Charitie, which is alwayes ingenuous, found a way for them to help them, and to provide them with what they were able. To cloath them they used this pious shift: they would go into the pris'on (for as I have fomerly said, he that visiteth a pris'oner must necessarily go into the pris'on) having a double suit of cloathes one over the other: and as soon as they were got in, they would very dexterously slip off their under garments, and give them to those poor men, and go out again only with their own cloathes, without any discovery of so reasonable a charity, for the relief of those unfortunate wretches.

Whilst I lived in the Province of *Kiamſi* at *Nancham*, the capital City thereof, where we have a Church and House, there came thither a *Christian* of another City, on purpose to conferre with me concerning his conscience, and other spirituall matters: and because the place where he lived was far distant from us, and he could not often make that journey, his custome was to make a pretty long stay when he did come, and then, after his generall confession and penance was ended, to returne home again. One time at his departure I desired him to use his best endeavours to perwade his kindred, friends, neighbours and other persons, to embrace our *Holy Faith*, and that if he found any disposition or inclination in them to it, he shoud presently give me notice of it. He did so, and about a month after, he sent me an invitation to come thither, for that there was an opportunity of casting my nets: I went thither, and because he had not a House bigge enough to receive the company that would come to treat with me, I did accomodate my self in one of those Houses, which the *Chineſſes* call *Zitham*, and do belong to a whole Family in common, where at set times of the yeare the whole Family do assemble themselves to treat of the affaires of that Family, and of the behaviour and manner of living of some of that Kindred; and there they reprove, chaffife, give orders, &c, these Houses for the most part stand empty, only there is some one or other, who keepeþ and taketh care of them. Neere unto that dwelt a *Mandarine*; who having heard of my arrivall, and that I was a stranger, drawn as I beleive by his curiosity, came presently to visit me. But as we do not use in these visi'ts to let slip any opportunity of advancing the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I entered into discourse with him concerning that matter. He asked me therupon many extravagant questions; and not being, as it seemed, much pleased with my answers, he took his leave of me with a great deale of civility, and, when he had done, he went and acciuled me to the seconde *Gouvernor* of the City, telling him, that there dwelt a stranger, that the times were dangerous; and moreover,

over, that I taught a new law, which was contrary to theirs, and prejudicial to the State; that therefore it did behoove his Lordship to use all care and diligence to prevent the mischiefe that might ensue upon it. Less than this would have been sufficient to have caused me to be apprehended, if the *Mandarine* had not been a cautious and discreet person. Nevertheless, he sent some of his Officers for me: there came into the House where I was about thirty or forty men, some of them being sent, and others only out of curiosity to see me; as also the *Tifam* of that street, (who is obliged to give account of what ever passeth there) and brought an order for me to appear before the *Gouvernour*. Just in that instant in came the *Christian* who had sent for me, who was a *Litterato*, and well esteemed in that City; and taking me by the hand, would needs go along to give an account of me to the *Gouvernour*, where he found also the *Mandarine* that had accused me.

The *Christian* told the *Mandarine*, that I lived in the *Metropolis* of the Province, and that I had a friendship with the *Vice-rey* and other *Mandarines* of Quality (which was very true); and that for the *Law* which I taught, it was no secret, but that I did preach it openly at the Court; and that my companions did the same every where publickly; as the *Mandarines* of the *Metropolis* knew very well. The *Gouvernour* having heard these words, from a person of that merit, would make no further enquirie into the cause, but remitted it to the first *Gouvernour*, whom we found on his *Tribunal*. The *Tifam* began to give him an account of the busynesse, but he being not well instructed in it, could not make him understand it. Then the *Christian* began to speak, and to give an account of what had happened, in the presence of almost an infinite multitude of people; of which number there being two, who, hearing him talk of the *Law of God*, signed themselves with the *Signe of the Croffe* in the sight of a young man who stood near them: The young man asked them, If they were *Christians*: They answered, No, but that they had a friend who was a *Christian*, and that he had taught them to make the signe of the Croffe, and to rehearse several prayers. The *Gouvernour*, as soon as he heard of *Thien Chu Kiao*, that is, *The Law of the Lord* of heaven, he said: this law hath many followers in my Country, and is a very good *Law*: what would the Father of all have else? The *Christian* answered: nothing, my Lord, but only to give an account of himself in answer to what he is accused of by *Hioquon* (for that was the name of the *Mandarine* that had complained of me) neerest unto whom he dwelleth. Then the *Gouvernour* replied, Tell the Father he liveth in no good neighbour-hood, and wish him to find a better. The *Christian* answered, since your Lordship would have him change his habitation, be pleased to command he should have a House allowed him during the short time he is to make his abode in this City. The advice pleased him, and presently he gave order, there should be some Chambers provided for me in a certain *Palace*, and in them I lived during the whole time that I spent there: so that by the occasion of the others turning me out of the House, I came to get one that was farre better.

As a *Portuguese Carrack* was on her way from *Macao* toward *Manila*, she strook unfortunately upon the sands of *Pulejiss*, and was cast away; there being hardly fourty persons saved in the long boate, who steering as well

well as they could towards the next land, after some daies, arrived at the Island of *Hainan*, which is but a little way distant from the Western part of the Province of *Canton*, and from *Macao* two daies sail with a good wind. As soon as they landed, they were presently apprehended according to the custome of that Island, with a noife and stir which boded no good to those poor shipwreckt men. They found some *Christians* in that Island, who were very helpfull to them, and among the rest there was a *Mandarine* called *Ignatius*, who had been a long time a *Christian*, as also his whole Family, a very good and devout person, as I had formerly known him to be at *Nankin*. It pleased God for the comfort and solace of those poor *Portugheses*, that he should govern the Island at that time. As soon as he had understood what had happened to those prisoners, fearing what might fall out, he commanded the cause to be brought unto his *Tribunal*. When therefore the poor prisoners were brought into his presence, and after that he understood they were *Christians*, he not only commiserated their condition, but presently commanded they should be set at liberty, and kept them for some time in his Palace. It is hard to expresse the *Charity* and *Love*, with which he entertained them, endeavouring to refresh and comfort them after the labours and dangers they had passed, conversing with them so familiarly and so cordially, and giving them such an example in his own person of all *Christian virtues*, that the *Portugheses* did afterwards very highly commend him, both in *Macao* and many other places, and not only his own carriage and behaviour, but also that of his household; but above all, they did admire the care and diligence with which he gave them notice both of Fests and Holy-days, to the end they might observe them: so that while they stayed there, he served them also in stead of a Parish Priest.

On the day of *S. Agnes*, which was that whereon his wife was *Baptized*, and called by the same name, he made a very great *Feast*: first a Spirituall one in his Chappel, where they all met to do their devotions, and recommend themselves unto *God*; and after that, he gave them a Sumptuous and Splendid banquet. After he had entertained them a good while, and that they had recovered their health and strength againe, he lent them a Barque and Marriners to carry them to *Macao*. I could bring many other examples, which I omit for brevities sake, seeing these are sufficient to prove what I said before; That the *Christian Religion*, one way or other, is dispersed over the whole Kingdome of *China*.

*The life and death of Doctor Leo:
and the Conclusion of this
History.*

THe *Chineſe Christianity* hath ſo great an obligation to the singular pietie, and charitable assistance afforded them upon all occasions by *Doctor Leo*,

Doctor Leo, that I cannot finish this relation without giving a briefe *Essay* of his life and death, which may serve also for a testimony of the great zeale of those new Christians; although I shall forbear to mention many things concerning his sanctitie; as also severall graces and gifts conferred upon him by Almighty God, referring the Reader to the yearly letters, where they are more particularly set downe.

Dr. Leo was borne in the City of Hamchou in the Province of Chekiam, and having happily finished the course of his studies, he removed to the Court of Pekim, where he obtained the degree of Doctor, and executed the first employment, which was conferred upon him after his degree. There he saw and conversed with Father Matthaeus Riccius, as did also the greatest part of the chiefe Officers and Letterati; moved by a curiositie of seeing men of Europe. This Leo, besides that he was of a quick and vivacious wit, had a most eager and intense desire of knowledge; by which means he did the more engage himselfe to an inward friendship and conversation with the Father, being allured therunto by the solidity and novelty of our Sciences, and particularly by the delight he tooke in some maps and other curiosities; so that he could have been willing to have lived alwaies in his company. In the meane while, together with humane Sciences, the Father did instruct him in the heavenly wisdome of the Law of God; and he was growne so skilfull and well versed in it, that he was able to help the Father in the correction and augmentation of a *Catechisme*, which he had made some years before, and was then about to re-print it. He did therein much admire the great conformitie of our *Mysteris*, with the principalls of reasoun, the concordance, order, and admirable consequence of the points of our Faith; and although he did not at that time give an entire credence to them, nevertheless he was much delighted to see every thing therein so well ordered and disposed; being wont often to say, That if these things were not true, they were wifely invented, and very conformable to the light of nature. He continued the same affection toward the Father for some years; wherein he much assisted, both with his counsell and authority, the foundation of that House; and indeed he was the first that did encourage the Father to the enterprize; and furnished him with money to buy the ground, and to build the Church.

All these good works, accompanied with the *fayings* and *Penance* which he performed, while he was yet a Gentile, were as so many dispositions, to fit and prepare him for the reception of that divine light, which the Lord was pleased to communicate unto him. He was then satisfied in the truth of our *Holy faith*, and did much desire to be baptized; which notwithstanding Father Riccius would not consent unto, by reason of a certain impediment which he had at that time; but being afterwards sick and in great danger of death, the Father was constrained to *Baptize* him. And immediatly after, the Lord was pleased, by means and virtue of that *Sacrament* and the other of *Extreme Unction*, to deliver him from that death, which he expected every hour; as he himselfe confessed during his whole life, and alwaies gave particular thanks to God for it.

Not long after, he returned home to his owne House, where, having buſſed himſelfe one evening in breaking and burning all the *Idols* he could finde,

finde, Dr. Michael his ancient friend, (though yet a Gentile and very zealous in the worship of *Idols*, and obſervant in their ſuperition) came in to visit him. He was much affoſtished at the ſight, and could not forbear to reprove him for it: but by the others anſwer, he received ſo much ſatisfaction, that he had an earnest deſire to hear and understand better the *Law of Christ*, which he afterwards received; & the ſame Dr. Leo affiſted him as God-father at his *Baptisme*; for about that time there came to live in Leo's Houſe, the Fathers, Lazarus, Cataneus, and Nicolas Trigaultius, who did often diſcource there, with Dr. Michael; he carried them to a Country houſe of his, (whither he went often to dwell,) that he might with more freedom and leisuſe diſcource with them concerning the *Law of God*: he doing this often, was at length converted and *Baptized*; wherein Dr. Leo had the greatest ſhare and merit; conſering a moſt important benefit upon this Church, by the conveſion of a peron of that *Quality*, who for many years together, in the heat and trouble of the moſt perſecutions, did ever receive, protecſt, and favour us above meaſure.

From that day forward theſe two Doctors, Michael and Leo were the heads and pillars of our *Holy faith* in thoſe Kingdomeſ: for, in the moſt fury of that perſecution, wherein the Fathers were banished the Kingdom, eight of them concealed themſelves in that City; not only maſtaining what they had already gained, but also encreaſing it ſo muſh, that where as about 8 or 10 years before, there were but three Churches in all China, we have at this day many in eight Provinces, as also twelve Houſes, the number of the *faithfull* being very muſh encreaſed every where.

Dr. Leo made continual progreſſe in the *Christian religion*, and shewed in act, upon all occasions, what he had before embrac'd and refolvd in his minde. When he went to take poſſeſſion of the firſt office, which was given him after he was a *Christian*, he was adverſited by the Minifters and Officers, that, according to the cuſtome, he ſhould go and worſhip, and take his oath before the *Idols*, which in great number were placed in a cer‐tain Hall of that *Palace*, where he was to lodge. The Doctor went, and being come to the roome where the *Idols* were, the Ceremonie he perfor‐med was, to caufe them to be all overthrown and thronwe to the ground, and then to be broken in pieces: ſo that the Sergeants themſelves, who were conſtrained to execute this Commandement, which feemed to them a very great impiety, ſaid among themſelves, *Sure this new Lord of ours is not very well in his wits*. So great was the horrore and hatred which he had con‐ceived againſt the devill. He was in this particular very ſevere and terri‐ble all the time of his life; neither did he account them men, that were deceived in that point, & had ſo little ſenſe, as to believe *Idols* to be gods; and thoſe, who had any occaſion to heare the *Law of God*, or to read the books which treated of it, and did not judge it to be true, to want braiues, and to be voyd of understanding. He perſwaded himſelfe, that all they who could read, and took a deliht in the reading of books, that it was not poſſible, but that they ſhould have a great paſſion for the Learning and Sci‐ences of Europe; and that by means of them, they muſt needs arrive at the knowledge of the true God, and receive his *Holy law*. Therefore his gre‐atest care alwaies was to perfwade the Fathers to apply themſelves to the translating

translating the books of Europe, and his humilitie did help them in all he could, which was not a little.

Hence it was, that ever since he knew the *Fathers*, which was about the space of thirty years, he almost alwayes busied himself in this exercise; which he followed with so much study and application, tharein in the Country, at recreations, visits and banquets, he never went without a book in his sleeve, or in the chaire, wherein he was carried on mens shoulders, and when he was alone, he did either read or write; although it was more troubleome to him, that it would have been to another of lesse ingenuity and capacity, by reason of his want of sight in one eye, which he had almost lost; and the little sight he had in the other which was left: so that in writing or reading he was faine almost to touch the paper with his eye. And truly he made such progresse in our Sciences, that he could have discouered upon any subject better than many in Europe, that esteem themselves learned men.

He perfectly understood the first six books of Euclid, which are now translated into the Chinesse tongue; he had learned all the kinds of our Arithmetick, with many particular rules and subtleties which are taught in that Art; of which subject he composed seaven *Tomes*; he was very well acquainted with all that belongeth to the Sphære, and such like curiosities. But what is most of all, he understande very well, and helped to translatis the books of *Aristote de Cale*; together with the questions, which are handled upon them by the Schoole of *Conimbriga*; so that he had perfectly penetratid into that matter: and finally, he learnt a great part of our Logick, concerning which he left 20 *Tomes* in the Chinesse language to be printed; besides, he discoursed so pertinently of all these and other matters, with so much gale and delight, that it was not so facile for others, who were well versed in them, to follow him. He never made account of those curious commodities, which came from Europe, and which were so much esteemed by others; all his delight and content was, to see some new and curious book, that was broughte out of Europe: Then would he sigh to see himselfe old and alone, not finding in other Christians the zeale, which he had of a thing so important, to the conversion of that Kingdom, as was the helpeing us in the translation of such books. With the *Fathers* he never discoursed of any thing, but either of God, or of our Sciences. It was a knowna thing among us, that when he law us, (which he did many times a week,) the first thing he would ask, was, What book we were about translating; and if he knew the subject, how much we had already translaid: And I can speak it with truth, that of fifty works which the *Fathers* have translaid into the Chinesse tongue, both of *Divinitie* & other *Sciences*, among which there are some which do consist of many *Tomes*, there is hardly one which hath not passed through his hands, he either correding it himselfe, or helping us to do it, or revising and fitting it for a new impression, or else reading it of more Authority, with the addition of prologues and other cōsideracions of his owne, he had an unspeakable pleasure in those works, neither could he have a greater. Present sent him, than one of our books newly prised into the Chinesse language.

From hence there grew in him a great and insatiable desire, wherein he

he seemed to consume himselfe; which was to have many *Fathers* come into China, and it was so vehement in him, that it made him fall into complaints against our *Superiors*, saying, They did not understand, because they could not see with their eyes the importance of that businesse; & that therefore they did not supply that want so much as was necessary. One day falling into a great heat upon this subiect, the *Father* with whom he discoursed, mildly replied, Sir, we thank you for your zeale, and do acknowledge the favour you shew us, in complaining on this manner; but our *Superiors* have many places to succour and supply, and it is not possible for them to do it to the satisfaction of all. To which he replied very gracefully, Your Reverence doth reprove me for daring to murmur against our *Fathers* and *Superiors*, but it is not so, but only I say, That I should be very glad to have the opportunity to speake in person with our Reverend *Father Generall* (in these very tearmes he spake it in the Chinesse tongue, and when ever he mentioned the *Superiors* of the Company, he alwayes called them *Our Fathers and Superiors*) because I would very earnestly desire of him, that he would be pleased seasonably to supply our Kingdome of China with store of *Fathers*, by reason the letters and language are so difficult to be learnt: for ere long your Reverences will be so old and worn out, that you will not be able to teach those, who are new comers. Thus he spake, and this was his opinion concerning it. And a good Testimony thereof will appear in a letter which he wrote in answer to one, which Father *Muguer Macaregnas* the *Assistant* of Portugall had sent him: wherein he offered to send him whatsoever curiositie or rarite he desired out of Europe: to which point his answere was, that he neither wished, nor desired any thing, but only that he would earnestly endeavour to send more of the Societie into China.

In proportion to the love he had for the *Fathers*, his zeale and care for their studies and health did increase; as also that they should be well accommodated, and that they should know how to converse with those of the Country, in such Termes, Ceremonies, and Compliments, as were most esteemed among them; admonishing, and instrucing us with great confidence upon all occasions, when ever he saw us mistaken in the *Style* of that Country. He had so tender a kindness for us, that many times with his owne hands he would open our gownes before to see whether we were sufficiently provided with cloaths to defend us from the cold. When any of us was sick, he caused the medicines, to be boylded and prepared at his owne House, saying, That either through the ignorance, or unskillfulness of our servants they might lose their force, and so the sick person would receive no help by them. At the first sight after a little discourse, he could very well judge of the talents and parts of every one of us, and had a great facilitie in gaing our affections. He had a great esteem and affection for us all in general, but much more for those who were newly come, and could not yet speake the language; of whom he had alwayes a very great care, much committig the labour andaines they were to take in the study of that language, and the letters belonging to it; and to encourage them, would much rejoice at every word, which he heard them bring out, when they began to speake it. He gave them very partic-

lar instructions concerning the manner and method they were to study it by. He gave them the names of the books to which they were most to apply themselves; and many times he sent them to them, written in his owne hand, concerning the poynts and strokes, of which in China there is a particular Science. It was an incredible consolation, and truely did caufe no leſſe then our admiration, to heare the two Doctors, Leo and Michael together, when they came both at once, (as they did often,) to our House; for they scarce ſpoke of any thing else but of the way how to propagate the Gospel, and how to protec^t, defend and authorize the preachers thereof throughout the whole Kingdom; consulting with themſelves to which of their friends they ſhould recommend them; what books they would aduise them to write; to which Province it were best to go firſt; and which Father were fitteſt to be required of the Superior for ſuch a part. In the end, all their conſultations concluded in ſighs, ſaying: We are old men, to morrow we ſhall die, whom ſhall wee leave in our ſtead to carry on, that which we have ſeen begun in our daies? Sometimes tranſported by their affections, they did imagine themſelves to be then at the Court, informing the King himſelf by their Memoriall of the ſanctity and purity of our Christian Faith; and having obtained leave and authority of him to ſet up publick Churches, they did already in their imagination make choice of the ground and ſituacion, and design the form of the buildings; otherwhiſe they fancied themſelves to be accuſed for this caufe, to be laid in prison, and after that to be beheaded; and all with ſo much courage and cheerfullerneſſe, as did well shew the esteem they made of the honour of Martyrdom; and the ardent deſires they had to loſe their lives for the intereſt of Gods caufe.

Neither did he ſtop at diſcourses and deſires; for I can juſtly affirme, That of all the Houſes and Churches our Societie hath in China, there is not one of them, which Dr. Leo hath not helped both to build and to preſerve; giving towards ſome of them, althoſh he was not rich, a conſiderable ſumme of money.

But that zealous love of Leo was moſt remarkable, in that occaſion of reſcuing the Fathers to the Court and City of Pekim, where they formerly reſided. He contrived all poſſible means to eſſect it, and made uſe of all opportunities: and by reaſon that China was then infested by the Tartars, and the Court of Pekim in danger, he tooke advantage by that occaſion to remonſtrate to the King, that beſides our learning and ſkill, which might be of great uſe to him, in this conjungle of time, we had alſo great power and interest with the inhabitants of Macao, from whom we could eaſily obtaine a conſiderable ſuccour of men and armes to his aſſiſtance; and the better to perſuade the King and his counſell to it, he uſed ſo much Rhetorick, and produced ſo many, and ſuſh apt and proper examples out of their books and ancient Chronicles, wherein he was exceilently well verfed, that I doubt not, but the Reader would receive much delight, if I ſhould give him a little tafk of that excellent memoriall of his, did not that Breſyrie, which I haue tied my ſelvē to in this relation, forbide it. In conclusion, he did, and ſaid ſo much, that he obtained his deſire, wherein he received no leſſe ſatisfaction than we haue, and ever ſhal have obligation to him

him for it. Nevertheless, he laſt the great office he had, only upon this account, through the malice of his enemies, who accused him to the King; though they had nothing to lay to his charge, but the neare friendſhip he had had with Father Mathew Riccius; and that he did believe and profeſe a certain Law, which that Father taught, and which was diſſerent from the Law of that Kingdom.

But it pleased the Lord to recompence him abundantly for what he then loft, reſtoing him 4 or 5 years after to the ſame place with much more honour and Fame throughout the whole Kingdom, by means of Dr. Paul, who being alſo a Christian, and of ſo much courage & understanding, as to be able to affit and favour our affairs, brought it about upon occaſion of the reformation of the Kalender. He accepted of the employmēnt, the better to enable him, together with Doctor Paul, to promote the intereſt of the Gofpel, and ſo he began his journey toward the Court: but, beside the infirmities of his old age, the length of the voyage, and the exceſſive cold of the winter, did ſo weaken him, that, not many moneths after his arrivall, he ended his life on the day of All-Saints, which was the very day, whereon four years before the firſt Maffe was ſaid in that Houſe, which he buil'd on purpoſe to beſtow upon the Society; where at this day is one of the two Refidencies, which we haue in the City of Hanchen.

I will not ſtand to reheare the Piety, compunction, and relentment, with which he did feuerall times confesse himſelf during his ſickneſſe, nor the conſolation with which he received the holy Sacramens of the Communion and extreme unction, and with what devotion he hearkened to the diſcourſes and exhortations, which were made to him (at that time by three of the Fathers, who were preſent) at his death, (a reward which certainly the Lord was pleaſed to beſtow upon that love and affection, with which he had alwayes helped and favoured us, from the firſt time he knew us,) I forbear, I ſay, to mention them, by reaſon any one may imagine them in ſo learned a man and perfect a Christian. I will only take notice briefly of what he ſaid at that time to Doctor Paul, whom he tooke by the hand, juſt as he was about to depart, & after he had given him thanks for the favours he had received of him upon many occaſions, and particularly in that laſt, he ſaid to him with teares in his eyes, Sir, I dye much comforted to ſee with my eyes how well our Fathers are re-establiſhed, and protected by your zeale. I will not recommend them to you, because I know the place they hold in your heart. My ſinnes haue made me unworthy to haue any ſhare in this work, to which you haue done me the favour to call me for your companion. But if after this work is ended you would be pleased to make uſe of my name to any thing, which might refuſe to the glory of God, and the propagation of his maie Holy Law, you would do me a high favour; and ſo, Sir, I leave upon your Shoulders the Chriſtianitie of China. With theſe words, which ſhewed liſſuſtiently the esteem he had of the Gofpel, and of the preachers thereof, Doctor Leo ended piouſly and holly that life, a good part whereof he had ſpent in the aſſiſtance of this new Church. He dyed on the firſt of November, 1630, althoſh his memory will alwayes live, in the breasts of the laboures of our Society, and we hope, that his example will be preferred in other generous mindeſ of the Chinese No-bilitie.

To

To this state and condition is the Church of China arrived, after the continuall labour and paines of the Fathers, during fifty eight years; and truly so happy and prosperous a successe could never have been expected from such difficult beginnings, and such weak meanes. Nevertheless, from the contexture of this Narration, it may well be perceived, what paines, trouble, caution, patience and longanimitie have alwayes accompanied this enterprise, and also upheld it in the greatest persecutions. The zeale and heate of those persons, who would convert the world perfectly on a sudden, is much to be commended; and we do esteem, and reverence it in all; nevertheless, in new Missions, and particularly in such, which are not susceptible of this fire, which flameth out so suddenly, but do require to be diposed to it by longer time, we do endeavour to retain them within the limits of prudence, more safe, and the bounds of patience, more profitable, for that which is pretended to, by our Society, when ever we meet with any of such a Spirit among us; and if that will not serve, we send them to the pulpits and auditories of Europe, where that fire may shine out without any danger of burning. And this is observed by us in order to the Gentiles.

As for the new Christians, I doubt not at all, but that it is a holy and desirabe thing, presently to fashion and accommodate them to the common way of the univerfall Church, to her lawes, deccrees, statutes, &c. Nevertheless, we must look how farre that is possible; and if possible, whether it be convenient; and whether it would not be more for the destruction then edification of such tender plants. Our Saviour Christ and the Apostles have left us this doctrine so cleer, that there doth not seem any place to be left for error. St. Ambrose saith, It is a property of false Apostles to teach every thing to every one without difference of persons, the which difference was alwayes observed by our Saviour in his holy doctrine, *Aliter enim populis, aliter loquatur discipulis.* St. Paul the preacher of the Gentiles, and Master of preachers, wrote to the Corinthians, *Lac vobis potum dedi:* (it is wel to be seen, (saith St. Gregor) that he brought them up and instructed them as Children: they were newly begotten unto the Gospel, (saith St. Ambrose) Ideo Apostolus, vir divinus, & medicus spiritualia unicunque secundum viris illius doctrinam tradebat.) And to the Galatians he saith, *Sic sis quis per infirmatem carnis evangelizavi vobis.* Wherefore accommodating himselfe to the weaknesse of the flesh, the Apostle did preach no higher things to them: saith St. Hierome, *Ut infirmos Galatas lucifaceret.* Of this opinion also is Tostatus cap. 7. queſ. 9. upon St. Mat.

The same St. Paul, when he would lay the foundation of Christianitie at Athens, began with that Inſcription, *Ignoto deo, or (as St. Hierom will have it) Dīs Alīs, Europe & Lybie, dīs ignotis & peregrinis:* And without ever reproving those words, or condemning the superstition, (although it was bad enough) judging it more convenient at the firſt, he made ſe of this darkneſſe to communicate light to them by it. The Apostles in the firſt counſell treated only of the facilitating of the conveſion of the Gentiles, *Vīsim est spiritū sancto & nobis nihil ultra imponere vobis oneris, quām haec necessaria: ut abstineatis vos ab immolatiis simulachrorum, & suffocato, & sanguine.* So that in these three things, they did include the whole obliga-
tion

tion of the *Fuus peccatorum*, to which thoſe new Christians were obliged, and (what is more) they were (all three) *Jewiſh Ceremonies*; which if they ſhould be obſerved at this day, would give much ſcandal. Nevertheless, to facilitate the conveſion of the Gentiles, and to avoyd giving ſcandal to the Jewes, they were, at that time, judged neceſſary. The fame thing happened about circumcision, the which S. Paul not only perMITTED, but even ex-ercised himſelfe on the perſon of his diſciple Timothy, condeſcending to the weakneſſe and ignorance of thoſe firſt Christians.

Of this opinion was *Panormitanus* (cap. lictet Gracos, de Baptisma & ejus effectu:) where he ſaith, *Potes t̄ debet vienientes novit̄ ad fidem solvare ih̄ moribus & ritibus vromi amīquī: For otherwife, (as Celsus ſaith) there would rather be a perturbation than an edification.* *Op̄os infirmari hominum plerisque condescendere n̄t vergat contra aeternam ſalutem,* (which is very maniſt, every man being chiefly concerned to take care of his own eternall Salvation, *ne cum alijs pr̄adicatoris, ipſe reprobis efficiatur:) nam ex aetate quare conformatum in omnibus, eft portas pacem turbare.* This opinion likewife is favoured by the Glosse, (in cap. Reis qui, de paſtitia & remiſſione.) where it is ſaid, That in favour of thoſe who are newly converted to the Faith, *detrabendum eft iure.* The Church hath often practized the ſame, and particularly in the Council of Florence, where Pope Eugenius the Fourth did very prudently diſemble with the Greeks, concerning the point of marriage, for the Greeks not conſenting to treat any thing concerning Marriage, , and the Pope having alſo already determined the point: yet *Synodice, &, Armenis, in decreto ſuo, credendum tradens, mirum dictu, Gracos ob communem concordiam recentur initam, fortius ſtabilidam, non explicit ad hoc credendum obſtrinxit, imò pertinaciam eccl̄i in reliquo, violata pace, ne reflirent, videns non widit, vel (ut in Actis Concilii pater) non condemnavit.* If this was done to Perfons that of authority, quality and antiquity: what shall we ſay of poor Neophytes, but only that of St. Gregory: *Doris mentibus ſimul omnia abſcindere impoſſibile eſt not dubium eſt: quia iſi, qui locum ascēdere nititur, gradibus vel paſſibus, non ſalibus elevatur.* So that in the conveſion of the Gentiles (according to St. Gregory) *Sauoirer & prudenter ſubinſinare, non violenter abrumperē, Apostolici munera eſt.* St. Peter, to preferre thoſe Plants he had newly planted, *Inter Gen-tilies gentiliter, inter iudeos judicite viſitavit.* And St. Paul, *Factus eft Fudais tanquam Iudaus ut Iudaos lucrifaceret;* & iſi qui ſub lege erant, quiaſ ſub lege eſt, ut eos qui ſub lege erant, lucrifaceret, idque prudenter ad bonum animarum (as Baronius declareth in his Annals in the year 51.) This is that, which the *Apostles, Fathers, Counſells, and Fathers* have taught by precept and examples.

And notwithstanding all these Instructions, how difficult is it to take the middle way by accommodating ones ſelue to places, times, and persons, and the feveral course of things? and how much good is lost, not to ſay, how much evill done (and even ſuch evill as at this day we fee and lament) by following everyone his own judgment and fancy whatſoever it be; leaving that more certain, and ſaving way which was uſed by the Saints.

I will conclude this Relation with a Paragraph of a Letter, which the Pa- triark

triark of Ethiopia Don Alfonso Mendez wrote from Goa to the Cardinals of the Congregation de propaganda fide; who for his Learning, Authority, and Virtue, and above all, for his experience of Missions, wherein he laboured and suffered much, doth very much deserve to be believed. He saith thus:

But at the end of this Letter I do judge it not from our purpose to bemand your Eminencies, shat God hath formerly commanded, that a vine-yard should not be sowed with diverse seeds; nor that a garment ought to be woven of Linnen and Woollen, with which the Queen and Spouse is to be cloathed, wherein is implied, That the severall institutions and different manners of living of Religious Orders, ought not to be entruled upon young and tender Churches, such as are but yet in a manner sucklings; but only to be introduced into such Churches, as are come to their full strength, and are fortified by a long continuance of years. For many times, emulation growing among them, and many wanting prudence, and others abounding in an indiscreet zeale, they do many things, which tend rather to ruine than edification &c. The Lord blesse your Eminencies &c. From Goa the eleventh of November 1638.

BELLVM



The Liuely Effigies of Theim mingus y^e present
Emperour of the Western Tartars, who hath
Lately ouer-run and Possess him selfe almost
of the whole Empire of China.

BELLUM TARTARICUM,
OR THE
CONQUEST
OF
The Great and most Renovvned
Empire of
CHINA,

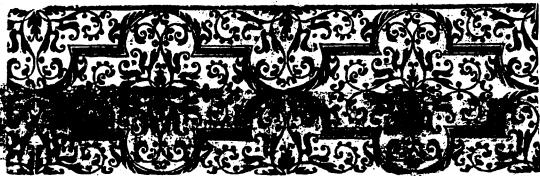
By the Invasion of the TARTARS, who
in these last seven years, have wholly
subdued that vast Empire.

Together with a Map of the Provinces, and chief Cities
of the Countries, for the better understanding
of the *STORY.*

Written originally in *LATINE* by *Martin Martinius*, present in the
Country at most of the Passages herein related, And now
faithfully Translated into English.



LONDON,
Printed for *John Crook*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Sign of
the Ship in *S. Pauls* Church-yard, 1655.

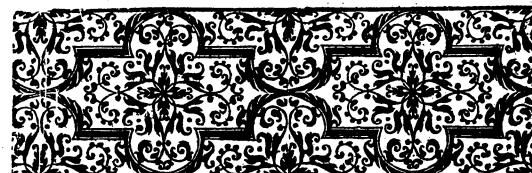
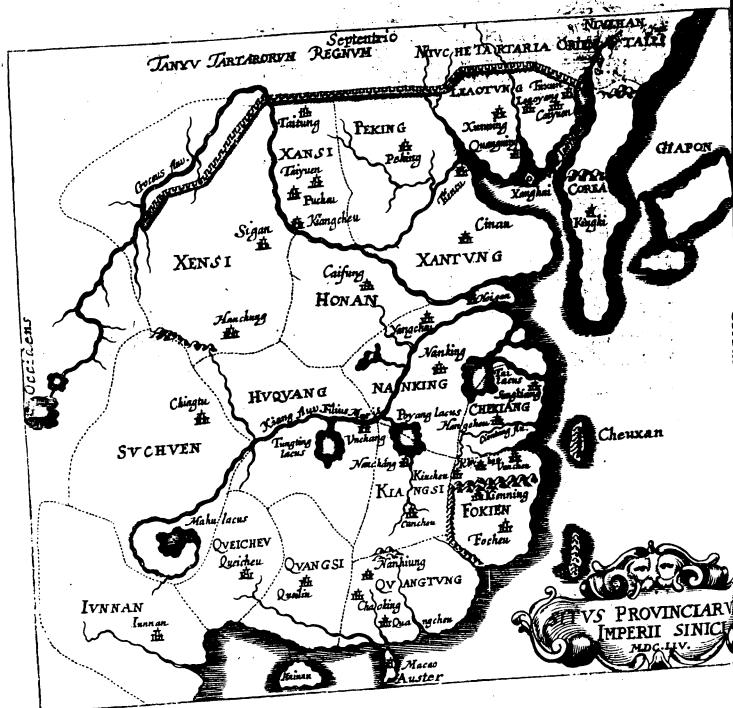


To the Reader.



Whereas in the course of this insuing History there occurs frequent mention of the chiefe Provinces and Cities in China; which have either been assauld and defended, subdued or destroyed, by the severall Armies, as well from North to South, as from East to West; least the pleasure and delight of this History, should be any way diminished by the frequent re-encounter of harsh and barbarous names of Countries, and Towns unknown to the European Reader; I thought it good to prefix a little Geographical table of the Countries, and chiefe Cities, which might serve as a guide to conduct the eye of the understanding, in the pursuit of the mentioned victories. I confess it is not so exact as the vigour of Geography exacts, but yet it is such an one, as was drawn by the hands of their learned Phylosophers, and may well give a sufficient notion of all the places mentioned.

As for more exquisit, and rare Maps both universal and particular, as well of the Countries, as of the Cities, and of all the rarities they contain, together with the exact knowledge of their Longitudes and Latitudes, and of all that does belong either to Astronomy or Geography in relation to them; with what may be expected from Natural or Humane History, I reserve all this to my Atlas of China which I am composing; taken from their own ancient records ever since the time of Noah; all which I have with much pains and industry gathered up together, and transported with me to Europe. I will not therefore for the present deflower that work of its greatest beauty, by an unseasonable exposition of it to the Readers view; but expect till it grow to that perfection, as I hope will satisfie the appetite of this our curious Age.



BELLUM TARTARICUM. OR, *The History of the Warres of the Tartars in China, &c.*



He most ancient Nation of *Tartars* in *Asia*, the Parent of many Nations, hath been an Enemy to the Empire of *China* above four thousand years during which time, they have had many sharp Wars with those of *China*, in which they, though sometimes worsted, yet for the most part, have remained the conquerors.

I call that Nation, *Tartars*, which inhabiteth the Northern parts, behind that famous Wall which stretching out above 300. German Leagues from East to West, hath ever served for a Rampart to hinder their irruptions into the said Empire.

This Country the *Chinese*, having a defect of the letter R, anciently called *Tata*: comprehending under this name, not only the occidental, but the Oriental *Tartars*, hitherto much unknown to us in *Europe*, containing the Provinces, *Sunmania*, *Tanyu*, *Niuche*, *Niilac*, and the like, from the lesser *Tartary*, and Kingdom of *Cafor*, to the Oriental Sea above *Fappyn*, where they are separated by the Streight of *Anian*, from *Queriva* in *America*, if yet it be a Streight and not a Continent.

But it is not my intention to write all the Wars which have passed betwixt them; but only of such as have happened in our memory, and in my presence; All the rest shall appear at large in my Abridgement of the History of *China*. And that we may proceed with more Order, it will be necessary to reflect, how and from whence those Troubles had their beginning.

It is therefore first to be known, that the ancient Western *Tartars*, after they had subdued almost all *Asia* to their power, waged war against *China*, conquered (of which *Paulus Venetus*, and *Aylon* make mention under the names of *Catay* and *Manning*) and this before the times of great *Tamerlaine*, who *Tamerlaine* never subdued *China*, as some have falfly writ; for he flourished about the year MCCCCVI, in which time *Taickangus*, Emperor of *China*, and the second of the *Taimingian* Family (the *Tartars* being before beaten out

of

of his Kingdom) governed peaceably all the Provinces included within the compass of that Vast Wall which before I ment ioined.

But the War which *Paulus Venetus* toucheth, betwixt the *Chineſes* and *Tartars* began in the year MCCYI. as their History and Chronology testify, which laſting 77 years, at laſt the *Tartars* in the year MCCCLXXXVIII. having totally conquered all that potent Empire, extinguished the Imperiall Family of the *Sungas*, and erected a new Regal Family, which they called *Huena*, of which *Tartarian* Race nine Emperors by descent, governed in the Kingdom of *China* for the ſpace of LXX. years in Peace and Quietnes; and about the end of that War, came *Paulus Venetus* into *China* with the *Tartars*, as appeareth by his Writings.

In this tract of time, the *Tartars* forgetting their ancient Vigour of Mind and warlike Spirits, which the pleasures and delices of that Country had quailed and tamed, and being also weakened by fo long a Peace, became of a softer temper, and received a deep Tincture of the Nature and Dilposition of the Natives of *China*.

Whereupon a contemptible perfon (who was servant to one of those deputed to offer Sacrifice to their Idols) called *Chu*, presumed to rebell againſt them.

This man commiserating the condition of his enslaved Country, and alſo touched with the ambition of Reigning, firſt acted the part of a Thief, or High-way man, and being of a Generous Nature, bold, and as quick of hand, as in wit, wanted neither Courage, nor Art, nor Companions, nor Fortune, to gather ſuch a multitude as in that time made up the vast body of an Army; whereupon depofing the perfon of a Thief, he became a General; and with a bold attempt perfumed to fet upon the *Tartars*, and having fought many battailes with them, obtained many singular Victories; ſo as in the year 1368. he finally drove them out of the Kingdom of *China*, receiving for ſo memorable an action, the whole Empire of *China* as a worthy reward of his Heroical Actions.

It was he firſt erected the Imperial Family of the *Taiminges*, and being he was the firſt Emperor of that Race, ſtiled himſelf by the name of *Hunguus*; which ſignifies as much as, *The famous Warriors*.

After ſuch an illuſtrious Action, it was no wonder if all the Provinces submitted to him, both as to one that was a Native of their Country; and also becaufe they looked on him as a man who had redeemed them from Thralldome: for it is the Nature of the people of *China* to love and esteem their own, as much as they hate and vilifie Strangers.

Wherefore he firſt placed his Court at *Nanking* neer to the bank of that great River of *Kiang*, which the *Chineſes*, in reſpect of the huge Mountains of water which it diſcharges into the Ocean, call the *Sun of the Sea*: And having ſpeedily ordered, and eſtabliſhed that Empire, fearing no Inſurrections from theſe new redeemed Creatures, he was not contented to have chafed the *Tartars* out of *China*, but he made an irruption into *Tartary* it ſelue, and ſo followed the point of his Victory, as that he routed them ſeveral times, wasted all their Territories, and finally brought the Oriental *Tartars* to ſuch ſtreights, as he forced them to lay down their Arms, to pay Tribute, and even begge an Ignominious Peace. This ſtorm of War fell

*The Tartars
Emperors of
China*

fell chiefly on the *Tartars* of the Province of *Niuche*, whither the *Tartars* of *China* being expelleſ, were retired.

Afterward thoſe *Tartars* every year, either as Subjects or Friends, came into *China* by the Province of *Lauung* to traffick with the Inhabitants. For, being brought to poverty and mifery, they thought no more of making warre againſt *China*. The Merchandise they brought were ſeyrall, as, the root cal'd *Ginsom*, fo much eſteemed amongst the *Chineſes*, and all sorts of precious ſkins, as thoſe of *Cafor*, *Martaſ* and *Zibellens*, and alſo Horſe-hair, of which the *Chineſer* make their Nets, and the men uſe it in tying up their hair, as the handsomest drefſe they can appear in. But thoſe *Tartars* multiplied ſo fast, as they grew quickly into ſeven Governments which they call *Hordes*, and theſe fighting one againſt another, at length about the year of Christ MDL. were united into one Kingdome, called the Kingdome of *Niuche*.

Thus stood *China* in relation to the Eastern *Tartars*, but to the Western *Tartars* they payed Tribute, muſted under the Title of Preſents, that they might defit from War.

For the *Chineſes* eſteem it very unhandſome to make war againſt any, if by any other meaſures their Country can be conſerved in peace and quietneſſe, being taught this by their Philosophers.

But in the meane time, being over jealous of the Enemis to their ancient riches, they never left that great Wall, which extends from East to West, without a million of Soulſiers to guard it.

Therefore this Kingdome of *China* being thus eſtabliſhed in the *Tai-* *mingian* Family, enjoyed a conſtant peace and quietneſſe for CCL. years; and whilſt the ſeven *Tartarian* Lords or Gouerneurs made civil war, that renoumed Emperor of *China*, known by the name of *Yanley* being the thirteenth Emperor of *Taiminges* Family, governed happily the Kingdome of *China* from the year 1573. to the year 1620. with as much Prudence as Justice and Equity.

But in this time the *Tartars* of *Niuche* had ſo multiplied and ſpread themſelves, after incorporated into a Kingdome, that they became daily more formidable to *China*: And therefore the Gouerneurs of the bordering Provinces, conſulted privately amongst themſelues how they might curb and reſtraine theſe people within their limits: For their Gouerneurs haue fo much Power and Authority, that although they live as Slaves to their Prince, yet when there is queſtion of a Common and publick good, they govern absolutely and uncontroulably, unleſs by ſome higher powers their orders be reſtrained.

First therefore the Prefects or Gouerneurs, did abuſe the Merchant *Tartars* of *Niuche* when they came into *Lauung*, which is a Province The first caſe
on war, theſe people conſinues next to them.

Then again when the King of *Niuche* would have married his Daugh- The ſecond
er to another King of the *Tartars*, they hindred this marriage by repre-
enting ſome pretended reaſons of State.

And finally, when the King of *Niuche* ſuspected nothing from them he
conceived his friends, they took him by deceit, and killed him perfidi-
ously.

A great Ga-
fon upon the
Wall againſt
the *Tartars*.

A long Pea-
ce in *China*.

The *Tartars* think of inva-
ding *China*.

The first caſe
on war.

The ſecond
caſe.

The third
caſe.

The first irruption of the Tartars into China.

The Tartars Prostestation against China.

The Barbarous and superstitious Vow of the Tartar King.

The chief City of Leaoyang besieged and taken.

A Stratagem against musquets.

Wherefore to revenge these injuries, the Kings Son gathered a strong Army, and taking his time, found meane to get over the great Wall I mentioned; and the great River being frozen, he presently set upon the great City Kaiyuen (or as others call it) Tzum, which lies upon the confines of *Tartary*, whitch he took in the yeat MDCXVI.

From this City he writ a Letter in *Tartarian* Characters to the Emperour of *China*, which though wrt in Barbarian Characters, yet contained nothing Barbarous. By this Letter, which he sent by one of their Indian Priests (whom they call *Lama*) in a very humble and submissive manner he declared to him, that he had invaded his Country to revenge the injuries he had received from the Governours of the neighbouring Provinces. But yet that he was ready to restore the City he had taken, and depose his Armes, if his complainants might be heard, and satisfaction given him. The Emperour of *China*, called *Vanley*, having received this Letter, though otherwife of an eminent wisdome, and of as great experience, yet being now broken with Age, in this businesse seems to have proceeded with lesse Prudence than that which accompanied the former Actions of his life; For thinking it not to be a busines of that moment as that it deserved to be treated before him in his own Court, he remitted it to the chief Governours and Commanders. And these men puffed up with their usuall pride, thought it not fit so much as to give an answer to the *Barbarian* King, but resented it very highly that he durst be so bold as to complain to the Emperour of any injury received.

The *Tartar* King, seeing they vouchsafed no answer to his just demands, turning his anger into rage, vowed to celebrate his Fathers Funerals with the lives of two hundred Thousand of the Inhabitants of *China*. For it is the custome of the *Tartars* when any man of quality dyeth, to cast into that fire which consumes the dead Corps, as many Servants, Women, and Horses, with bows and Arrows, as may be fit to attend and serve them in the next life: Though now since they conquered *China*, they have left off this Barbarous custome, being reprehended and corrected for it by the *Chinenses* themselves. After this superstitious Vow, advancing his revenging Armes, he besieged *Leaoyang* (which was the chief City of the Province of *Leaoyang*) with 50000 men. But the City was defended by exceeding many men, who generally were all armed with Musquets: The *Tartars* had nothing but their Scymetars, with Bows and Arrows, which they discharge with strange Dexterity and Art. But because they chiefly feared the musquet bullets, they resolved by a Strategem to make that unknown Instrument lesse hurtfull to them than their enemies did imagin. For the *Tartarian* King commanded such as made the first on-set, to carry a thick hard board for their Shield, which was as good to them as a wooden Wall; these men were seconded by other Companies who carried Ladders to climb up the Walls; and the Horse came up in the Rear. In this manner he set upon the City in four quarters, and received the discharge of their Musquets against his wooden wall; Then in a moment the scaling-ladders being applied, before they could charge again, they were upon the Walls and entred the City; for such is the quicknesse and nimblenesse of the *Tartars* (in which they excell all Nations,

Nations, and in which also they place their chief arte) that in a trice, they either prevail in their designs, or retire: and the little skill the *Chinenses* had in the use of Musquets, was no small hindrance to the warre. For the *Tartars* quicknesse and nimblenesse not giving them time to charge again, being astonisched with the sudden inundation of armed men, they presently fled which way soever they could; but being pursued by the swift *Tartarian* Horse, most of them perished in the taking of this great City. This City being taken, the *Tartar* like a Torrent over-run many others of lesse note, but amongt others, he took that Noble City *Evangeling*, and overrunning most speedily the whole Country of *Leaotang*, he entred the Province of *Pekin*; and comming within seven Leagues of the very Imperiall City, He durst not advance, fearing the Enemy might compasse or surround him, because he heard that a world of men came in to help their distressed Prince. But the *Tartar* struck such a terror into the hearts of all the Countries he had passed, as both Souldier and Citizen quiting their Houles left the empty walls to the *Tartarians* possession, knowing the *Tartar* to have that custom and practise, to destroy and putt all to fire and sword that did resist, and only pillage the Cities that submitted, leaving the Citizens alive, and treating them contineously. By How the Tar-
tars used their
conquered Towns.
The *Tartar* calls himself
Emperour of
China, An.
1618.

which means having collected a world of riches, he returned to *Leaotang* victorious. And because his South-fayers had perswaded him that the standing of the old Walls were unfortunate, he beat them down, and compassed it about with new, fortifying them with new Munitions, and there proclaimed himself Emperour of *China*: For although as yet he had taken nothing of *China*, but only the skirts of the Eastern Country of the Province of *Leaotang*, yet in his hopes & aspiring thoughts he had devoured the whole Kingdom: wherefore he was called in the *China* language *Theimmingus*, in the third year of his Reign, which was in that of one thousand six hundred and eighteen.

In this year, some in authority about the Emperour *Vanley*, demanded the banishment of the Priests, who did then preach the Christian Religion to that Nation. But the Emperour (who in his heart loved Christianity, and those particularly that first planted that Religion amongst them) gave no ear for a long while to their demands; But at length overcome by the importunity of a chief Commander, who had ever been a fore Enemy to Christian Religion, and was called *Xuchie*, it was ordained and proclaimed that all those *Fathers* that did propagate Christian Religion should be banished the Kingdome. Upon which some of them were secretly concealed in several Provinces: by some Christian Governours, others were taken, were carried in great Cages to *Lacao*, wherein being shut up God punished *China* for their perfec-tion of Christians.
day and night, they suffered extreamly, whilst others also being whipt out of the Country, rejoyned to undergo something for his sake whose name they bore, but that which added more affliction to all these miseries, was the Emperour *Vanley*'s Prohibition to all his to professe Christian Religion. But, upon this occasion, the Christians of *China* (who from the horrid wildernes of Infidelity, had been brought to the pleasent Pastures of Christianity) gave illustrious examples of their Faith and Constancy; but the longer Narration of this glorious persecution is refered

ved for another place. I only touch it here, to admire the Divine Providence of God, who raised so sharp War against *China*, when they neglected Christian Peace; and permitted, at the same time, these *Tartars* to take so deep a root in this Empire of *China*, as afterward grew to that height, as to extirpate the Royal Family of the *Tamingers*, together with the King, at the very same time they went about utterly to destroy all Christianity. But, (as ordinarily it doth) by this very persecution, Christian Religion grew to that height and greatness, that the Church glories to behold it; whilst, (unless God vouchsafe to lend a potent helping hand,) the vast Kingdom of *China* is utterly overthrown.

In the mean time, the *Chineſes* were very solicitous to expell this Enemy from the bowels of their Country; and first, they selected very chief and eminent men for Commanders and Governors; then they gathered an Army of six hundred thousand choicest Souldiers. The King of *Corea* also sent to the Emperour of *China*, twelve thousand, with this potent Army therefore they went out in the beginning of March MDCXIX, to give Battail to the Enemy. The *Tartars* resolved to meet them with an undaunted courage; and for a good while the event and victory was very doubtful; but in the end the Army of *China* was wholly routed, & their chief Commanders, with fifty thousand men, were all slain: The *Tartars* according to their custome, prosecute the victory with all quicknesse and diligence; for the same day they took and sacked two Cities which they burned. After this, they ever-run that whole Country, and came to the very Walls of *Pekin*, the Emperours Court; but durst not venture to besiege it, because they knew (besides the infinite number of Canons it contained) there was lodged fourscore thousand Souldiers in it.

But the *Chineſes* confess that there was such a fear and consternation in the City, that the King thought to have left that City and gone into the Southern parts of the Kingdom: which he had effectually performed, had not some Commanders suggested; that his flight would give courage to the Victorious, and breed trouble and confusion in the whole Empire, being that to fly is nothing else but to yield up the land to the Enemy. Nay more, they say, the disorders were such in the City, that if the *Tartar* had come on, he infallibly had made himself Master of it. But the Enemy was more greedy of Prey; and therefore they dispersed themselves abroad, spoiling and burning all Towns and Cities, and killing and destroying an immense company of *Chineſes* in a most cruel manner; and so leaving all these places dismantled and without Garisons, laden with infinite Riches, they returned victorious to *Leaotung*, where they had their first footing.

After these things had passed, that renouned Emperour of *China* call'd *Kanley* died, and left his Son *Taihangus* to succeed him; who began to gather a new Army against the *Tartars*; but after four moneths reign he also died.

To him succeeded *Theinkins*, who as soon as he assumed the Crown, sent an Embaſſadour, with many magnificent Prefents, and worthy of the *China* Monarchy to the King of *Corea*; The end of this Embaſſage was to thank him for the Auxiliary forces sent to his Grandfather, as also to comfort him for the losſe he had received in the late service of *China*; & finally to

The *Tartars*
return with
great Riches.

The Emperour
Vanley dyes,
Taihangus
succedes and
dyes.
Theinkins is
chosen.

to follicite and preſſe for further succours; For it seems those of *Corea*, as they are nearer to *Fapony*, ſo they participate more of that warlike Spirit *those of Corea* more valiant than the *Tartars*.

Besides, that he might more effectually divert the imminent danger of *Chineſes*. New preparing his Kingdoms ruin, he leavied new Forces throughout all the Kingdom; tions against which he ſent into the Province of *Leaotung*, to hinder the irruption of the *Tartars*, *Tartars* any further into the Country; And for their better ſupply with necessary Provision, he maintained a great Navie in the Haven of *Thien-cin* to carry Corn and other necessaries for their maintenance. This Port of *Thien-cin* is a Station to which an incredible number of ships refort, both by The Port of *Thien-cin* very Sea and Rivers, from all parts of *China*. So as by this means, by a very ſhort and compendious way, they were easily provided with all necessities. For all the whole Country of *Leaotung* is almost invironed with the Sea, and the furtheſt part is but two daies diſtant by water from this Port of *Thien-cin*, but by land far more time is neceſſary.

Amongſt other Commanders which came with ſuccours to their Prince, there was one *Hervic Lady*, whom we may well call the *Amazon or Pen-Amazons of China*. She brought along with her three thouſand, from the remote Province of *Suchuen*, carrying all, not only Masculine minds, but mens habits also, and assuming Titles more becoming men than women. This noble and generous Lady gave many rare proofs of her courage and valour, not only againſt theſe *Tartars*, but also againſt the Rebels which afterwards riſe againſt their Lord and Emperour. But now ſhe came in this War to ſupply her Sons place, whom ſhe left at home in his own Kingdom, as being yet a Child, and not able to perform that Homage and Duty to which he was obliged. For in the mountains of the Country of *Szechuan* there is a King, not ſubject to him of *China*, but an absolute Prince; yet ſo as he receives the Honour and Title of a King from the Emperour of *China*; after which Inveſtiture, his Subjects only obey him and pay Tribute; But because they ſurpaſſe all others in Valour and Courage, therefore they are uſed by the Kings of *China* in warlike Affairs.

By occaſion of this war the two noble Christian Doctours, *Paul and Michael*, found means to perſuade the Emperour to demand of the *Portuguese of Macao*, ſome greater Pieces, and alſo ſome Gunnes and Gunners, hoping by this means alſo to reſore the banished Fathers of Christianity, as the Religion it ſelf. And their Propoſition took effect; for both the one and the other were lent for; and the Fathers who hitherto ſecretly ne-gotiated the buſineſſe of Religion were publicly admitted again, and ma-new Souldiers of *Portugal* came to help the Army.

And God did moſt abundantly recompence to the Emperour this fa-vour done to Christianity: For before the *Portuguese* arrived, his Army had cast the *Tartars* out of *Leaotung*, by means of the Inhabitants of that Coun-try, who being much exasperated by the *Tartarians* cruelty, opened their City Gates as ſoon as the King of *China*'s Army appeared, and riſing a-against their Garion, gave entrance to the Army. Infomuch as they recon-verted the Metropolitan Town of *Leaotung*: For the King of *Tartary* being diverted by other Wars at home could not come ſoon enough to re-lieve it: So as by this means the affairs of *China* began to recover Life, and

The firſt in-
vention of the
Christians to
advance Chris-
tianity.

The *Tartars*
are cast out.

The *Tartars*
make war
again.
They besiege
Leayang, and
take it.

Constancy
rewarded by
the Enemy.

The *Tartars*
Habits and
Manners.

and Strength, and the *Tartars* seemed wholly restrained.

But though Fortune seemed now to shew a smiling face for *China*, yet, as her custome is, she stood not long constant and stable: For the *Tartarian* King having dispatched his affairs in *Tartary*, sent presently sixty thousand Horse to besiege *Leayang* again; promising that himself in person would follow with greater Forces. And this Army took that strong City in the space of forty hours; both parties fighting with such vigour and fiercenes, that thirty thousand of the Garrison were killed, and the *Tartars* lost about twenty thousand of theirs. Nay the *Chinenses* affirm, that they had never woon the City, had not the Governor been corrupted by great promises of reward, to open them one of the Gates of the Town. But be it as it will, the *Tartars* woon the Town; The Vice Roy hanged himself for grief; The Kings Visitor was taken by the enemy, but could never be brought to submit himself, or to bestow the Title of a King upon the *Barbarian*; for which, in admiration and reward of his Constancy and Fidelity, he obtained life and freedom; but, knowing that according to the custom of *China*, he was guilty of death, only because he had fought unfortunately, more cruel to himself than the barbarous Enemy, he hanged himself.

The *Tartars* having taken the City, proclaimed by Edict, that they should kill none, if they would cut their hair, and use the *Tartarians* Habit. For the *Tartars* (that I may say something of their Manners, as my subject gives me occasion) do shave both the Head and Beard, reserving only the Mu-stachies, which they extend to a great length, and in the hinder part of their heads they leave a Tuff, which being curiously woven and plated, they let hang down carelessly below their shoulders; they have a round and low Cap, which is alwaies garnished round with some pretious skin three fingers broad, of *Caster* or *Zibellin*, & serveth to defend their Temples, Ears, and Foreheads from colds & other Tempests. That which appears above the skin being covered over either with curious red silke, or else with black and purple horse-hair, which they die and dress most curiously; so as their appurtenances being decently joyned together, makes the cap both commodious and handson. Their Garments are long Robes falling down to the very foot, but their sleeves are not so wide and large as the *Chinenses* use, but rather such as are used in *Polony*, & *Hungary*, only with this difference, that they fashion the extremity of the Sleeve, ever like a Horse his Hoof. At their Girdle there hangs on either side two Handkerchiefs to wipe their face and hands; besides, there hangs a Knife for all necessary uses, with two Purses, in which they carry *Tobacco*, or such like Commodities. On their left side they hang their Scymiters, but so as the point goes before, and the handle behind, and therefore when they fight they draw it out with the right hand behind them without holding the Scabbard with the other. They seldom weare Shoes; and use no spurs to their Boots, which they make either of Silk, or of Horse-skin very neatly drest; but they often use fair Pattins, which they make three Fingers high. In riding they use Stirrups, their Trappings are both lower and broader than ours, their faces are comely, and commonly broad as those of *China* alio have, their colour is white, but their Nose is not so flat, nor their eyes so little, as the *Chinenses*

Chinenses are; They speak stile, and ride pensively. In the rest of their maners they resemble our *Tatars* of *Europe*, though they be nothing so barbarous. They rejoice to see Strangers: They no way like the grimness and fowenes of the *Chinenses* gravity, and therefore in them first abhors they appear more humane.

Having thus briefly described their manners, we resume our former discourse, and return to the victorious *Tartars* in the City they had taken, in which, finding many rich and wealthy Merchants of other Provinces, they published a Licence that they might depart with their Goods, and withall commanded them speedily to void the City, who presently obeying the order, carried away all their goods and riches, little suspecting the perfidious treachery of the *Tartars*. For they had not gone three miles from the Town, but being set upon by the *Tartars*, they were plundered of their goods, and lost all their lives; which being done, they returned into the fearfull City, laden with Riches, the Citizens trembling, lest they might happily experience the like perfidiositie.

But the *Tatar* considering at how dear a rate he had bought the mastering of that City, and fearing also to find the like provision and preparation in other Cities, they durst not make any further attempt; for they knew well that the Emperour had not only fortified all the ancient places, but erected also new munitions, in the straits of many hard and rude passages.

And amongst all other strong Holds, that of *Xanghai*, scituated in the Island of *Cu*, was most eminent, containing a vast number of men in the Garrison, to resist the further progresse of the *Tartarian* Forces. But that which most of all represt the *Tartars*, was the great valour of the incomparable Commander *Movenlungus*; who having with his great Fleet taken an Island neet *Cores* in the mouth of the River *Zao*, vexed much their Army in the Rear, and was victorious in severall Skirmishes against them; so that the *Tartars* bent all their care and thoughts against this their Enemy. This renowned perlon was born in the Province of *Evangung*, where being neer the *Portugese* of *Macao*, he had much perfecced himself in the Art of war, and he brought with him many great pieces of Artillerie, which he had recovered from the Shipwreck of a *Holland* Ship, upon the coasts of that Territorie. And because the Emperour of *China* had declared the City of *Ningayuen* to be the chief (in place of *Leayang*) (where also he had placed a new Vice roy, and his Royal Visitor) therefore *Movenlungus* placed the best part of his Artillerie upon the Walls of this City.

The *Tartars* therefore acted nothing till the year 1625, and because they resolved to besiege the new Metropolitan City of *Ningayuen*, they first purposed to tie *Movenlungus* his fidelity, offering him halfe of the Empire of *China*, if he would help them to gain it; But that noble Soul of his, proved as faithfull, as valiant, by rejecting thos demands with indignation; and came presently with his Forces to succour the City *Ningayuen* which they besieged; by which means, the *Tartars* having lost ten thousand men, were put to flight; and amongst the rest, the King of *Tartary*, his Sonne was killed. Wherefore being furious with anger, they passed

The valiantest
Commander
of *China*.

The faithful
soul of the
Commanders
in *China*.

The overthrow
of the *Tartars*

fed the frozen Sea, and invaded the Island *Thaoyen*, where they killed ten thousand that kept Garrisons there, together with all the Inhabitants; and by this one Act, having revenged their former discomfiture, they returned into *Tartary*, not with a resolution to sit still, but an intention to return with greater Forces; By which retreat, all things remained quiet till the year 1627, in which the Emperour *Thienkius* dyed in the flow'r of his age, and with him the whole Empire of *China* seemed to fall to ruin and destruction; and, in the same year, the King of the *Tartars*, who had cruelly murdered many men, himself augmented the number of the dead.

The Kings of China, and Tartary both died.
Zungchinus chosen Emperour of China.
Thienkius more milde than his Predecessors.

After *Thienkius*, in the Empire of *China*, succeeded that unhappy Emperour *Zungchinus*, brother to the former, (of whom more hereafter.) And after *Thienmingus* King of *Tartary*, succeeded *Thienzangus* his Son, who changed the manner of his Fathers Government, and by good Councell began to governe the *Chinenses* in courteous and sweet manner; but though he lived not long, yet he served for a good example for his Son to conquer *China* more by Civility and Humanitie, than by force of Armes.

The Soultries Infidelities exasperate the Country of Corea.
The Tartars are brought into Corea.
Corea wasted.

In this year, great *Maoenlungs* Souldiers being insolent by want of action, grew very troublesome and offensive, by their Rapes and Disorders, to the *Coreans*, who were friends and Allies, and particularly they much exasperated the Province of *Hienkin*, in somuch that some of the Inhabitants of that place, moved with indignation of several pasages, secretly treated with the *Tartarian* King, to invade the *Chinenses* Army, in the habit and attire of the Inhabitants of *Corea*, from whom they could expect no treason, being leaguered with them in friendship and amicite: to effect which design, these Traitors both to their Country, King, and the Emperour of *China*, promised their best assistance. This Council pleased the *Tartars*; and therefore he sent a Vice-Roy with a potent Army, to which the *Coreans* shewed the wayes, and guided them through all the pasages, who falling upon the *Chinenses* Army (which suspecting nothing, was divided, and many stragling up and down the Country) made a huge Carnage amongst them. But when *Maoenlungs* perceived they were *Tartars*, he presently made head, rallied his forces, and vigorously opposed all those sharp assaults. But yet at length he was forced to yield the Field; and therefore leaving a Regiment or two, to hold the Enemy in action whilst his Army retreated, he fled to his ships, and to the Island which he had fortified. The *Tartars* were vexed and grieved, both to see their victory so bloody, and also that *Maoenlungs*, whom they chiefly aimed at, had escaped with most of his Army; and therefore enraged with anger, they fell upon the *Corean* Traitors, as false to them, and killed every man, (which action the King of *Tartary* himself afterward much condemned,) and then turning their wrath to the four Northern Provinces, which border upon *Tartary*, they wasted and destroyed them all in a moment.

In the mean time the King of *Corea* gathered an Army to resist the *Tartars*; and *Maoenlungs* also, having recruited his Forces, came into *Corea*, to revenge the received losse. The victorious *Tartars* were come within seven

seven Leagues of the principallest City of all *Corea*. And, finding the King to have taken the Straights and Passages of the Mountains which lead unto it, they desperately resolved to force their passage. The Battell was hardly begun, when *Maoenlungs*, after a long march, falls in upon their Rearthe *Tartars* finding themselves encompassed before & behind, nor any means to escape but by dint of Sword, fought most desperately, sustaining the shock of two Armies; such was the fury of this battell, as *China* never saw; for, (it is strange to write, yet very true) of the three Armies, none was victorious; but all, in a manner, destroyed. Of the *Tartars*, The Fight and an Army fifty thousand were found wanting; The *Corean* Army slaughter of 3. lof sevny thousand, and few or none escaped of the *Chinenses*, for their Quarter being most commodious for the *Tartars* flight, they there made their most vigorous Charges, and so forced their way towards their own Country. So as none of them all gained the field, or could prosecute the course of a Victory. Yet the King of *Corea* made a shift to rally so many together again, as to take possession of thofe his Countries which the *Tartarians* by their flight had left desolate. But the *Tartars* after all their losses, ceased not to make frequent in-rodes into the Country of *Leas-* *tang*, and took all the Oriental part of it. From thence they made incursions into the other part, and carried away great Preys and Booties; But they were awlays so beaten, and so defeated, as they could never fix a constant habitation there. For by this time were arrived seven excellent Gunners from the *Portuguese* quarters, which both by themselves, and by teaching the *Chinenses*, advanced infinitely the King of *China* his affairs, especially where that Christian Vice-Roy, called *Sun Ignatius*, was Commander in chiefe, of whose affairs we shal say something hereafter.

In this conjuncture of affairs, the Emperour *Zungchinus* sent a new Commander called *Tvenus* into *Leas-tang*, with a new Army and full power to conclude a Peace with the *Tartars*, if they would admit it: For the disorders of the times had caused so many needy persons, Theevs, and Cut throats, that the Emperour grew more anxious how to supprese this great domestic Enemie, which seemed to aim at the Kingdoms ruin, than he was of the *Tartarian* Forces. This *Tvenus* was a crafty and subtil wit, most eloquent both in speaking and writing; who by politick discourses, drawn from his military experience, had wrought so much, not only upon the Emperours mind, but also upon all the Councell, that they esteemed what he concluded as a Law to be observed: Wherefore the *Chinenses* put all their confidence in him; nor had they been frustrated of their hopes, had not this wicked man been more wedded to his own interest, and love of Riches, than to the publick good, and fidelite to his Prince: For first he received of the *Tartars* a vast Summe of gold, which wrought so much upon him, as that having invited to a Banquet that most Valorous and Faithfull Champion *Maoenlungs*, whom the *Tartars* only feared, he there poisoned that great Commander. After this he made a most ignominious and shamefull Peace with the *Tartars*, condescending to all that those that had fed him with Riches, could desire. But when the Emperour had perused the Treatie, he presently found his Plenipotentiary had sold him, and therefore refused to ratifie or confirm the Articles.

Wh atshould *Tvenus* act in this exigent? That he might force the Emperour to admit them, he perswaded the *Tatars*, in the year 1630. to enter *China* by another Country than that which was committed to his charge, promising them for his part, he would no way with his Army hinder their progreſſe. The *Tatars* knew that his avarice had ſo potent an Aſcendent over him, as that they need to fear no hurt from him; and upon that confidence admitted of his Counfell. Wherefore being ſecure from all assaults from any Enemie behind them, they entered the Province of *Peking*, & at length besieged the Kings Court: Infomuch that his Council perfwaded him to leave the Imperial City, and retire to the Southern Provinces; but he protested he would rather die, than quitt the Northern quarters; and not only ſo, but he forbade any to depart the Court, or Town besieged. In the mean time, the *Tatars* make many fierce attacks, and as often were valiantly beaten back with great loſe and Carnage. *Tvenus* was called to refit the *Tatars*, for as yet his Traitorous Complot's were not diſcovered. And leſt he ſhould diſcover his Treafon, he comes with his Arme neare the very Walls of the Court, which was of a vast extent, and as it were a great partition between the two Armies, from which both the *Chinese* and *Tatars* forces were perfectly diſcerned. But though *Tvenus* was under the Emperours eye, yet he acted little; for his only aim being to returne home laden with Riches, he never defiſted to perfwade the Emperour to admit his conditions of Peace. So that the Emperour finding him evidently to be a Traitor, diſcloſing his intention to none of his Council nor Gouernours, ſends to invite him to a private Council of war, giving alſo order that he ſhould be admitted into the City over the Walls, leſt if any Gate ſhould be open, the *Tatar* being no ſooner might preſſe in upon them; but indeed he ordered the buſineſſe in this manner, leſt he ſhould bring his Arme into the City with him. *Tvenus* therefore knowing he had many chief men about the Emperour's perſon, who were both his favourities and friends, and that none of them gave him the leaſt ſign of any diſtaste that the Emperour might conceive againſt him, boldly and ſecurely preſented himſelf at Court; and as foon as he appeared, he was preſently arrested, and after ſome diuſion the Emperour commanded him to be killed. The *Tar-*

The perfidious
Genes al killed
The Tartars
For all the
Country of Pe-
king, & depart-
ing concurred
Court; and as soon as he appeared, he was presently arrested, and after
some few questions, the Emperor commanded him to be killed. The Tar-
tars hearing of his death (before the *China* Armie had a new General asfig-
ned) raise the siege, ranck all the Country round about, and after they had
made excursions to the next bordering Province of *Xamung*, richly laden
with all manner of Spoiles, returne to their first residence in *Leasong*.

The King of Tatars dies; another succeeds, but in general we have seen China, but they were presently beaten out again. In this same year *Tienzun-gus*, King of the Tatars died; after whom, succeeded his Son *Zangteus*, Father to him that now governs China, of whom we now must begin to treat.

This Prince, before his Reign, expressed much judgement in several Occurrences, surpassing all the Kings of *Tartary* in Humanity, and obliterating course: For when he was young, he was sent by his Father into *China*, where he lived secretly, and learned the *China's Manners, Doctrine and Language*, and now coming to the Kingdom, he changed, and far surpassed his Father.

fed all the Examples of his Predecessors: For having observed, that their too hard and cruel usage of the *Chineſes*, had been the principal obſtacle of their advancement, to the end he might conquer that Empire he ſo much thirſted after, as well by Love as by Arms, he courteouſly entertain'd and cheriſhed all thoſe of *China* which came unto him, uſing all Priſoners with great ſweetneſs, and inviting them either to ſubmit freely to his Government, or take their course with full freedom. The fame of his hu- manitie was ſpred far and neer; which induced many Commanders and chief Officers to fly unto him; by whose means and help, at length he became Emperor of that ſpacious and flouriſhing Country. For experience ſhews us, that Love and Humanity do work more upon mens hearts, in con- quering and conſerving Kingdomes, than Arms; and crueltie of the Con- querors hath loſt that, which strength of Arms had happily subdued. Wherefore when the *Chineſes* came to understand, that the King of *Tar- tary* did not only afford them a refuge, but friendſhip, many great perſons flying the Indignation of the King of *China*, sheltered themſelves under the *Tartars* protection. For, by reaſon of the *China*'s great Avarice and Perfidiousnes, it's a neceſſary, (though moſt inhumane) Maxim, that thoſe Officers periſh, who have managed the Kingdomeſ Affairs with leſle ſucceſſe. For they eaſily are brought to beleve, that ſuch unhappy events, do not proceed ſo much from the town of inconstant Fortune, as it doth from the perfidie or negligence of the Commanders. So as if any fought unhappliſly, or if he loſt the Country committed to his charge, if any Sedition or Rebellion happened, the Governors hardly ever escaped alive. Seeing therefore they found ſo much Humanitie in the *Tartar*, and ſo much Inhumanity in the Emperor, they rather choſe to fly to the former.

Mildeneſſe and
Gentlenesſe to
be uſed in
Conquering
Nations.

A barbarous
Principle of
the Chineſes.

By this occasion give me leave to relate what happened to that incomparable Commander (renowned both for Fidelitie and Fortitude) called Ignatius. This Heroick mind preferr'd his fidelitie to his Prince, before his life, before the Tartarian's protection, yea even before the strength of his formidable Army, and chose rather, with his unparallel'd Fidelity, to submit his head to a Block by an unjust sentence, than to abandon his Country, or once commit the least fault against his Sovereign, though guilty of much injustice towards Him : He might perchance have swayed the Sovereign Scepter of China, if he would have hearkened to his Souldiers, but he rather chose to die gloriously, than to be branded with the name of a Traitor.

After this man therefore had gained several Victories against the *Tartars*, and recovered many Cities from their possession, so as he hoped shortly wholly to extirpate them out of *China*. His Souldiers being long without pay, seditiously plundered and pillaged a Town which had ever been faithfull to the King. *Ignatius* by severall petitions and Remonstrances to the Emperour, had declared his wants of mony, and their want of Pay; but because he fed not those venal souls that managged the businesse for mony and presents, they alwaies suppressed his humble addresses for relief. *Ignatius* his
Besides, this man being a very pious Christian, he did nothing in his go-
vernment, but what was conform to Reason and Justice; which was the
Pietv.

cause he incurred the hatred of all the ancient Prefects, who usually receiving Bribes from the contesting parties, demanded favour of *Ignatius* for their Clients. But it was in vain to intercede for any, unless the justness of the cause did also ballance their Petitions. And these men attributing this proceeding, not to virtue, but to his Pride, thinking themselves undervalued by him, dealt under-hand with the Prefects in the Court, to stop the Armies pay, that so they might destroy this innocent man. Moreover, he was envied by the Commanders in the very Court, because he came to this eminent dignitie by his own valour and industry; which they imagined was only to be given to Doctors, and *Ignatius* was but a Licentiat; as if the most learned must needs be also the most valorous. In this conjuncture of affairs, the Souldiers not contented with the seditious pillage, seeing the most imminent danger hanging over their most esteemed and beloved Governour, by reason of their folly, go about to perwade him to make himself King of that Province; nay more, to take the whole Empire to himself, as a thing due to his Prowess and Merits; promising their whole strength to effect the businesse; and also to extirpate those men about the Emperour, that aimed more to compass their malicious ends, than to promote the general affaires of the Empire: But *Ignatius*, by pious admonitions, staved them off from further violence, made them obedient and quiet, commanded all to stand faithfull to the Emperour of *China*, and punished the chief of that sedition.

This supreme act of fidelity deserved a better esteem and acceptance, than that which was returned by the Emperour and his Court: who slighting this his allegiance, sent another Vice-Roy in his place, and commanded him to appear in Court: He then perceived they aimed at his life; and the Souldiers suspected the businesse; and therefore, mad with anger, they all jointly rose in Arms for him, swearing they would live and die with him, and that he should not present himselfe at Court. *It is our duty* (say they) *to conserve thy life, which hast been so careful of ours; and we have strength and courage enough to resist all the force of thy perfidious Enemies.*

He chuses rather to die, than either to reign, or to serve the Tartars.

But *Ignatius* was deaf to all these allurements, and studied by all means to sweeten their exulted minds; alwaies inculcating to them to die true and loyal to their Sovereigns service: chusing rather to water that ungrateful Soil of his native Country with the streams of his Blood, than either to spill his Enemies blood by the force and pow'r of his Souldiers, or to retire to the *Tartarian* King, which offered him so fair preferments. But many of his Captains fell off to the *Tartars*; following, in this, not his example, but that of many others, whom they saw eminently promoted amongst the *Tartars*. Some of those that then fled from the Emperour, are now chief Commanders under the *Tartarian* King, in their *China* Empire; some also have obtained the dignity of Princes, or Royolets in several Countries, for the reward of their Valour and faithfull Service against *China*. *So much more piercing is that wedge, which is made of the same wood.*

But although hitherto these *Tartarian* Wars had caused great troubles & tempests in the *China* Empire, yet all things now seemed so calmed and pacified, as they seemed secure from any further danger; for the Western part

part of *Leoutung* was strongly fortified, and there was a great Army in the Island of *Cu*, and the bordering quarters, which hindered the *Tartars* in the Eastern part of the Country, which they possessed, from further passage. The Theves were in *China*, a chief occasion of its overthrow.

I touched somthing of their Commotions before, now we must treat a little more largely of their proceedings, that the Reader may see how the *Tartars* came to subdue and conquer *China*.

The first Combination of these Rovers appeared in the remote Country of *Suchuen*, who having pillaged divers Cities, and emboldened by prosperous success, ventured to besiege the chief City of that Country call'd *Cingtu*; which they had infallibly taken, if that valiant Amazon, whom I mentioned before, had not come to relieve it with her Army; but by her valour they were beaten off with great losse; and, not being wholly extinguished, they retired into the mountains to recruit their Forces. These were seconded by a like race of people in the Province of *Quichea*, who took occasion of rising by reason of an unjust Sentence passed in a suit betwixt two Grandees of that Country, he who lost the cause being offended with the Governors. These roving companions, first kill'd all the Magistrates which had pronounced that unjust sentence, and then they defeated the Vice-Roy his Army; yet afterwards he routed them with a new Famin Augments the Theves. Army, but could not extinguish them. Besides these, the Famin increasing in the Northern quarters in the Countries of *Xens* and *Xantung*, by reason of a great inundation of Locusts which devoured all, there riss up by this occasion, many loose fellowes which lived by Rapin. These men at first were few in number, and small in strength, and after only preying in little places, presently fled to the Mountains; but finding they got both Meat and Riches, with little labour and lesse cost, they quickly got Companions to re-inforce them: This Sedition being also much augmented by the Emperour *Zungchinus* his notable avarice, who so exhausted the people by Impots and Taxes, as if it had been a year of the golden Age. The Emperour his avarice. And the Prefects of the Provinces, not being able presently to repress the infelicity of those people, they daily increased in courage and strength; Insomuch as in several Countries they had eight very considerable Armies. They chose the strongest & valiantest men amongst them for their Commanders, and these persons being grown rich and potent by preying, deposed now the peron of Ring-leaders of Theves, and aspired to no lesse than to the Empire of *China*. And at first they fought one against another, every one pillaging another of what he could: But at length things were brought to that passe, that two of the Commanders being only left alive, these two prevailed with the Souldiers of those that were killed, to follow their Ensignes and Fortune; and they knowing well that if they were taken by the Emperors Officers, they could not escape a most certain death, easily resolved to shelter themselves under the Arms of these two victorious persons. The name of one of these chief Brigands was *Licatzus*; the names of the chief felons

*They vex sever
al Provinces.*

*They besiege
the noble City
Caifung.*

*An unheard of
Famin.*

emulation, separated themselves far from one another, resolving both to pursue their prosperous fortunes. *Licungzus* therefore possessed himself of the Northern parts of *Xensi* and *Honan*; and the other tyrannized over the Countries of *Suchuen* and *Huquang*. But that we may not interrupt our discourse, by delivering the Acts of both these together, we will first treat of *Licungzus* his feats, being he was the caufe of the *Tartars* coming to the Empire, (which he himself might have possessed, if his proceedings had been moderate and humane;) and of the other we shall speak hereafter. Therefore in the year 1641. these pilferers having got immense riches in the Province *Xensi*, made an irruption, in a vast body, into that delicious sweet Province of *Honan*, and went strait to the chief City called *Caifung*, which they besieged. There was in that place a very great and strong *Garrison*, who by the benefit of Artillery mounted upon hand-wheeling Cars, forced them to quit the siege; then they fell upon all the neighbouring Cities, plundering, spoiling, and burning all they could master. Having hoarded up store of provision of Corn, and augmented their Army by a company of rascally Vagabonds and loytering Fellows, they returned again to besiege the Metropolitan City; but dispairing to take it by Force or Assaults, they resolved to ruin it by a long siege, that they might enjoy the immense Riches of that noble City; and though this Town be three great Leagues in circumference, yet they rounded it so by their lines, as nothing could enter the City; this drove them to some straits; for although the Purveyor for viuals had brought in good store of provision in the two moneths space in which they were absent, yet because that Province which used to be most plentiful, was now deficient in Corn, they could not make sufficient provision for six moneths siege, for such an infinite multitude of people as were retired within the Walls; Yet it held out most resolutely for the space of six moneths, in which time though they were brought to hard shifts, yet hoping alwaies for succour from their Emperor, they would never submit to any conditions. I dare not relate to what an excede this Famin came to; but it seems it surpaſſed the Famin of *Hierusalem*, a pound of Rice was worth a pound of Silver; and a pound of any old rotten skin was fold at ten Crowns; dead mens flesh was fold publickly in the Shambles as Hogs flesh, and it was held an act of Piety to expose the dead in the streets for others to feed on, who shortly were to be food for others; but I will paſſe over, and conceal yet more horrible things than I have related. This City lies towards the South side of that vast and precipitate River which the *Chineses* call *Hoang*, because the streams alwaies appear of a yellowish saffron colour; and because the River is higher than the plain level downs, of a Leagues distance from the Town, they built upon the River side, a long and strong Bulwark of great square stones, to prevent all inundations. The Emperours Army, after long expectation, came to relieve the Town, and advanced as far as these Bulwarks, and having considered the situation of the Country and Enemies Camp, it was thought the fittest & easiest way to raise the siege without giving battail, and to let in the water upon the enemies Army, by ſome breaches made in that long Wall or Bulwark. It was in *Autumn* when they took this refection, and the River, by reaſon of extraordinary rains, was ſwoln bigger than

than ever before; and they, making the Sluces, or inlets, too great, and the Breaches too wide, gave way to ſuch an Ocean of water, as it overran the walls of the Town (which were very ſtately and high) involving not only many of the enemies in its ruin and deſtruſion; but also 300000. men, *Caifung* is drowned. The City of *Xun-wang*, which heretofore had been honoured by the Emperor's Residence, appeared no more a place of pleasure, but a vast Pool or Lake for Monsters of the waters to inhabit; for the houses of the Town were not over-run with water, but also beaten down; and also the Church of the Christians, together with their Priest, who was one of the Society of Jesus; who when he could timely enough have ſaved himſelf, choſe rather to lay down his life for the ſheepe: For that City had many Christians. The deſtruſion of this City happened the ninth of *Oſt.* 1642. about which time this famous Conduſtour of Theeves took the name of King, with an addition of *Xun-wang*, which ſounds as much as *Proſperous*, and fo was ſtiled *Licungzus the proſperous*; and having in a manner taken all the Country of *Honan* into his Dominion, he returned into the Province of *Xensi*, and won it wholly to his ſubjection. When he came to *Sigan*, which is the Metropolis of *Xensi*, he found ſome reſiſtance from the *Garrison*; but yet he took it in three daies, and for a reward and encouragement to his Souldiers, he gave it to them to pillage alſo for three daies ſpace; and then he gathered up all the Corn of the whole Province, as well to keep all the Country in their duty to him, as alſo to leave no Provision for the Emperours Army. And now thinking himſelf ſecure of the whole Empire, he took the name of Emperour upon him, and ſtiled the Family wherein he thought to eſtablish this Dignity, *Thienzunnam*, as much as to ſay, *Obedient to Heaven*; By which Title he perfwaded the Souldiers and the People, that it was by the diſpolle of the Heavens that he ſhould reign, that he might deliver the people from the Emperours Avarice, and extirpate thofe wicked Gouernours that ſo much vexed the Nation, & deliver them from all their perfidious plots. For he knew well, that this Glorious Title would be very acceptable to them of *China*, who beleeve that Kingdoms and Empires come only from Heaven, and are not gained by any Art or Industry of Man; and that his actions might carry a face correfpondent to his illuſtrious Title, he began to uſe the People with all humility and sweetneſſe; not permitting any Souldier to wrong or injure them, only he perſecuted all the Officers call'd Presidents, which he could find, and all thofe he put to death; and as for those that had been Presidents, because he found them rich, he made them pay great Fines, and let them live; remitting all Taxes in the places he subdued; leverely commanding that the Subjects ſhould be treated with all civility and courtesie. So as all men applauding and loving ſo ſweet and milde a Government, eaſily ſubmitted to his Power and Dominion; but where the Gouernours uſe Tyranny, there the Subject hath little care of Fidelity. There were in this City *Sigan* two Priests which ſerved the Christians that were Jesuits, and ſuffered much in the ſackage of the City, but being afterwards known for Strangers, they were uled with all humanity.

In the mean time a third caufe of this Empires ruine grew up in the Court;

The Prefects & Discord was another cause of the ruin of China. Court; which was hatched in the Emperour *Thienkins* his time: For that Emperour exalted an Eunuch called *Cuei*, to such a height and power, as he gave the absolute, and sovereign Command into his hands, and passed so far, as always to stile him by the name of Father. This extravagant power caused much Envy, Dissention, and banding one against another, amongst the Governours, Presidents, Commanders, and Counsellors: and the Eunuch also added much to incense the flame, by his indiscreet usage of the favour he possessed; for if any man had touched him, either in word or writing, or expressed lesse respect unto him in conversation, or behaviour, or did not flatter the base fellow, he would presently give order to put him to death, though he were a very eminent person; or at least degrade him from all Office or Dignity. By which means he exasperated many, and amongst the rest he offended *Zunchinius* when Prince; who now, by the death of his Brother without issue, was come to be Emperour of *China*. This Emperour knew that the Eunuch had moved Heaven and Earth to hinder his coming to the Crown; but seeing he could not effect that, at least he maintained a seditious faction against the great ones, which finally proved the destruction of the Estate; For these men banding in two factions, studied more how to destroy one another, than to advance the publique good; yet both parties pretended the general benefit, but both neglected it. Every party endeavouring to extoll and exalt his own Creatures into places of trust and power: All which when *Zunchinius* the emperour went about to redresse, he exasperated the minds of many of the Commanders against him; for as soon as he came to the Crown, he cruelly persecuted all that favoured the Eunuch, and in fine, killed this very Eunuch which had been his Predecessors Favourite, together with many more of his partie; of which Tragedy I will only relate the Catastrophe. The Emperour *Zungchinus* resolving to destroy both the Eunuch & all his power, sent him an order to go visit the Tombs of his Ancestors, to consider if any of those ancient Monuments wanted reparation: the Eunuch could not refuse so honourable an imployment, which seemed rather an addition to his former honours; but he had not gone far upon his journey, but there was presented to him (from the Emperour) a Box of Silver gilt, with a Halter of Silk folded up in it; by which he understood he was to hang himself by the Emperors order: which he could not refuse, being that kind of death (amongst the *Chinets*) is counted honourable, when it is accompanied with such formalities. But by this occasion the Emperour raised against himself new Factions and more Traitors, which held secret correspondence with the Theeves Army. Hence it came to passe, that no Army was sent to oppose them; or if any went, they did no manner of action, being always hindered by the emulation of others; nay it happened often, that when they might have taken great advantages, yet the occasion was neglected, lest the Commanders should increase other mens Power and Credit, (by their Victories,) with the Emperour. These Dissentions and Emulations happend so seasonably to the Roving Army of Theeves, as that to come, so few, and conquer, was to them one and the self same thing, as I shall declare unto you.

Whilst

Whilst these transactions passed in the Court, *Licungzus* Conductor of the Theeves, having settled all things in the Country of *Xensi*, passed to the East; and coming to the famous great River of *Croesus*, finding no body to defend it, he passed over with as much facility, as it might have been maintained with ease, if there had been placed but a handfull of Souldiers. For this River runnes with a violent rapid course, and a vast Sea of waters from West to East; but being there was no man to defend it, they passing it easily, presently seized upon the chief and richeſt City in all thoſe quarters, called *Kaiangchow*, which is ſituated near the South bankſide of that River; and being carried on with a ſtrong gale of Fortune, he ſeized upon many other Cities, every one deferring either to free themſelves from further vexation, or blindly and fondly ſubmitting themſelves to any new change of Government. For we commonly delight in varieties and novelties, and hoping for better, we find worse. Only the City of *Thaiyen* made ſome reſistance, but being preſently subdued, was fined with great fumes of money for their temerity. The Emperour *Zungchinus* hearing the Theeves had paſſed the River *Croesus*, and were advançed to the very Confinie of *Xenf* (which borders upon the Province where he had placed his Throne and Royall Seat) he ſent an Army under the Lord Marſhal of *China*, to hold them at leaſt in play, if he could not overthrow them; But this Army did juſt nothing; nay moſt of the Souldiers ran to the Thieving party, iſo muſh as the Lord Marſhal himſelf, called *Colaus Liu*, ſeeing Affairs grew ſo desperate, Hang'd himſelf for fear of further shame and diſhonour. The Emperour hearing of the ill ſucceſſe of his Affairs, began to think of leaving the Northern parts, where his Royal City of *Peking* is ſituated, and to paſſe to *Nankung* which is troubled, far more Southward; but he was diſwaded from this intended courſe as well by his loyal, as diſloyal ſubjects: by theſe, that they might give him up more ſpedily into the enemies hands, before their treachery was diſcovered, and by the others, leſt his flight might trouble the Kingdome more, and diſcourage all his Subjects from giving their beſt aſſiſtance; for they thought the City impregnable, being fortified with ſo ſtrong a Garrifon; nor did they doubt that the Kings preſence would draw the forces of the whole Kingdome to him. And their Counſel had been good, if the Court had been purged of Traytors.

In the mean time the Theeves Conductor, who was no leſſe quick and nimble in execution, than witty in invention, ſowing a Fox his tail to the of the Theeves. Lions ſkin, cauſed many of his Souldiers in a diſguift habit to creep into that Princeley City, and gave them money to trade in trifling ware, till he assaulted the walls with the body of his Army; for then they had order to raife ſedition, and tumult in the City; and, conſidering they were a Company of deperate Fellows, and of a very low and baſe fortune, it is ſtupendious to think how they could keep ſo profound ſecrecy in a matter of ſo high concerneſt: But to this mine, which was prepared in the bowels of the City, he held a ſecret train of Intelligence, with the Lieutenant of the City; who ſeeing the Emperours Affairs deſperate, is ſaid to have dealt with the Conductor of theſe Brigants about giving up the City unto their power; But, however it was, theſe Pilferers came in a ſhort

N n

The Royall
City of Peking
is taken.

short time to besiege the Royal City of *Peking*. There was in that City a vast Garrison, and as great a quantity of Artillery; but on the Quarters upon which the enemy made their assault, there was none charged with Bullets, but only with Powder.

Wherefore being secure from any annoy from that side, in the year MDCXLIV. before the rising of the Sun, they entered the Metropolitan City of all *China* by one of the Gates which was opened to them; nor was there any long resistance made, even by those that were faithfull to their Prince, for the Souldiers of the *Theef*, which lay lurking in the City, made such a tumult and confusion, as none knew whom to oppose, in which respect they made a great slaughter, so as *Licangzus* in this Babylonian confusion, marched victorious through the City, till he came to the very Emperours Palace, where though he found some resistance from the faithfuller Eunuchs, yet notwithstanding he presently entered that famous and renowned Palace; And that which exceeds all admiration, the enemy had passed the first Wall, and Precinct, and yet the Emp: rour knew nothing of so strange a passage; for the Traiterous Eunuchs, which were of most Authority, fearing he might escape by flight, defer to admonish him of his own danger, or of the taking of the City, till they saw he could not possibly evade: Who hearing this dolefull news, first demanded if he could get away by any means; but when he heard that all passages were beset, he is said to have left a Letter writ with his own Blood, in which he bitterly exprested to all posterity, the infidelity and perfidiousnesse of his Commanders, and the innocency of his poor Subjects; conjuring *Licangzus*, that seeing the Heavens had cast the Scepter into his hands, he would, for his sake, take revenge of such perfidious

Creatures. After this reflecting that he had a Daughter Marriageable, who falling into the villains hands, maight receive some affronte, he called for a Sword, and beheaded her with his own hands in the place, then going down into an Orchard, making a Rope of his Garter, he hung himself upon a Prune tree. Thus that unfortunate Emperour put a period, as well to that Empire, which had flourished so long with much splendor, riches, and pleasure, as to his illustrious Family of *Taimingus*, by finishing his life upon so contemptible a Tree, and in such an infamous manner: To all which circumstances, I adde one more; that as the Empire was reected by a *Theef*, so it was extinguished by another; for although other s were chosen to succeed him, as we shall relate hereafter, yet because they held a small parcel of the Empire, they are not numbered amongst the Emperours. His example was followed by the Queen, and by the Lord Marshall, who is call'd in their language *Colau*, together with other faithfull Eunuchs; So as thole pleasant Trees which served heretofore for their Sports and pleasures, now became the horrid and strect Instruments of their death. And this cruell butchering of themselves passed not only in the Court but also in the City, where many made themselves away, either by hanging, or drowning by leaping into Lakes; For it is held by this Nation to be the highest point of fidelity, to die with their Prince, and not to live and be subject to another.

Whilst these things were acting, *Licangzus* enters the Palace Victori-

ous,

ous, and ascending up to the Chair of State, sat him self down in that Im- partiall Throne; but it is recorded, that in executing this first Act of Roy- alty, he sat so restlessly and unquietly, yea so totteringly, as if even then that Royal Chaire would foretel the short durance of his felicity. The next day after, he commanded the body of the dead Emperour to be cut into The *Theef's* final pieces, accusing him of oppression and cruelty against his subjects; As if he, being a villainous Traitor, and a *Theef*, after the sacking & burning so many Provinces, and shedding such an Ocean of blood, had been of a better disposition. So we often condemn others, when we do worse our selves, and remark, yea augment, the least faults of others, when we ei- ther take no notice of, or diminish our own. This Emperour *Zunchinius* was Father of three Sons, of which the eldest could never be found, though all imaginable means was used for his discovety; some think he found means to fly away, others think he perished by leaping with others into the Lake; the two others being yet little Children, were by the Tyrants com- mand beheaded three days after; his barbaroushumour not sparing even innocentblood: Which disposition he made further to appear, when casting off that vail of Piety and Humanity, with which he had for sometime charmed the people, he commanded all the Principal Magistrates to be apprehended, of which he murdered many with cruel torments; o- others he fisted deeply, and reserved the Imperial Palace for his own a- board. He filled that most noble and rich City with ransacking Souldiers, and gave it up to their prey and plunder, where they committed such execrable things, as are both too long, and not fit to be related. But by this his horrid cruelty, and Tyranny, he lost that Empire which he might have preserved by courtesy and humanity.

Amongst the other imprisoned Magistrates, there was one a venerable person called *U*, whose Son *Usangueius* governed the Army of *China*, in the Confines of *Leoutung*, against the *Tartars*. The Tyrant *Licangzus* threatened this old man with a most cruel death; if by his paternall power over his Son, he did not reduce him with his whole Army, to subjection and obedience to his power; promising also great Rewards and Honours to them both, if by his fatherly power (which they hold sacred) he did prevail for his submission. Wherefore the poor old man writ to his Son this ensuing Letter.

It is well known that the Heavens, Earth, and Fate can cause these stran- gesticitudes of Fortune which we behold; know my Son, that the Emperor Zunchinius, and the whole family of Taimingus are perisched. The Heavens have cast it upon Licangzus, we must observe the times, and by making a ver- tie of necessity, avoyd his Tyranny, and experience his liberality, he promises us thee a Royal dignity, if with thy Army thou submit to his Dominion, and do- knowlege him as Emperour; my life depends upon thy answer; consider what thou owest to him that gave thy life.

To this Letter his Son *Usangueius* returned this short answer. *He that is not faithful to his Sovereign, will never be faithful to me: and if you forget your duty and fidelity to our Emperour, no man will blame me if I for- get my duty and obedience to such a father. I will rather die than serve a *Theef*.*

The *Tartars*
called into
China against
the *Theeves*.

And presently after the dispatch of this Letter, he sent an Ambassador to the King of *Tartary*, desiring his help and force to subdue this Usurper of the Empire; and knowing that the *Tartars* abound in men, but want women, he promised to send him some store of them: and presented him with severall curious Silks, and sent him great store of Silver and Gold. The *Tartarian* King neglected not this good occasion, but presently marched with fourscore thousand men, which were in Garrison in *Lestung*, to meet General *Ufanguenius*, to whom he expressed himself in these words. *To the end to make our Victory undoubted, I command you to cause all your Army to be clad like *Tartars*, for so the Thief will think us all *Tartars*, seeing I cannot call greater Forces out of my Kingdome so soon as is required.*

Ufanguenius, thirsting nothing but revenge, admitted all conditions, little thinking (as the *Chineses* say) that he brought in *Tigres* to drive out Dogs. *Licungzus* hearing the march of the *Tartars*, together with *Ufanguenius*, knowing himself not able to resist, quitted the Court and Palace as easily as he had taken it: but he carried with him all the rich spoyle of the Court, and marched away into the Province of *Xensi*, where he established his Court in the noble City of *Sigan*, which heretofore had been the seat of the Emperours. It is accounted that for eight daies space by the four Palace gates, there was nothing seen but a continual succession of Coaches, Horses, Camels, and Porters, carrying away the precioulest treasures; though they left also much, because the enemy approached.

They carry away the Treasures of the Palace.
They carry away the Treasures of the Palace.
They carry away the Treasures of the Palace.
They carry away the Treasures of the Palace.

Thus the immense Riches of Gold and Silver, which the Emperours of the *Taimingean* Family had at leasure hoarded up, in the space of two hundred and fourscore years, were in a moment dispersed. But although they fled very speedily, yet they could not avoid the swift *Tartarian* Horses, for overtaking their Luggage, and the Rear of the Army, they pillaged and vexed them for eight daies; but yet they either could not, or would not passe the River *Croceum*, that so they might speedily retorne to amuse the trembling hearts of the Territory of *Peking*. The *Tartars* retorne therefore victorious and rich into the City *Peking*, and there being admitted by the *Chineses*, they gave them the Empire. Where it is to be observed, that although *Zungtzeus*, the *Tartarian* King, dying at the first entrance into *China*, did not obtain that noble Empire he so much thirsted after; yet he gave those Instructions, of the manner of conquering it, to his Council, that they never desisted till they obtained it. This Prince dying, declared his Son of six years old, his Successor, commanding all his own Brethren to manage the Childe's Affairs with all fidelity and circumspection, making his eldest brother his Tutor, and all those brethren, being Uncles to the Childe, by a stupendous union, and never to be paralleld in any ambitious Nation, exalted this Infant to the possession of the Empire.

The *Tartars* refuse to depart *China*.
The *Tartars* refuse to depart *China*.

These things being thus passed, *Ufanguenius*, seeing the Thief expelled, began to think of creating a new Emperour, one of the *Taimingean*'s Family, who was a Prince not far distant: But first being mindfull of his promises made to the *Tartars*, he offers them their rewards, he highly extols their Fortitude and Fidelity in the Kingdome's quarrel; and finally, desires them now to depart the Country quietly, and to entertain a strict alliance and

and friendship with it, seeing they had abundantly revenged all former injuries. To this demand the *Tartars* returned a long premeditated answer, but far contrary to what *Ufanguenius* expected, which they delivered in these terms.

We do not think it yet a fit time to leave you and this Empire, unless, having heard our Reasons, you shall still preesse it; for we consider, that many of the *Theeves* are still extant, and seem rather dispersed than extinguished; and we hear that their great Conductor *Licungzus*, hath fixed his Imperial Seat in *Sigan*, the Metropolis of the Province of *Xensi*; by which means he still possesseth the richest and most populous Provinces, which are still under his Dominion. If we depart, worse is to be feared will follow: He feared us *Tartars*, when he knew we are gone, having now time to recruit his Forces, he will doubtless make new Invasions, and perchance we shall not be able to send new succours: We therefore resolve to prosecute the Victory, and quite extinguish those *Vagabonds*, that so you may deliver the Empire to your desinged King, in full peace and tranquillity. Be not solicitous of paying our promised reward, for they are as safe in yours, as in our own hands. That which we now desire to execute, is that which presseth most, and seems to us to require no delay; that you, with part of your Army and part of ours, march speedily against *Licungzus*, and we with the rest, take our March towards the Province of *Xantung*, to extirpate those *Theeves* that have settled there; By this means the peace of the Kingdome will be firmly established.

Ufanguenius either did not understand the Stratagem, or if he did, he condescended not to irritate an Army which was in the Bowells of the Kingdom.

Before the *Tartars* (which were called) entred *China*, they sent into their own and other Kingdoms to raise as many men as possibly they could, to the end they might conquer the Empire after they had acquitted themselves of their promised assistance against the *Theeves*. But these Succours, not being arrived to re-inforce them, therefore they thought it best as yet to use no force, but gain time by fair words and new projects. But whilst this busynesse was contriving, there came an immenste company of *Tartars* into the Empire, not only from the Kingdoms of *Ninchi*, and *Ninlham*, but also from the old Occidental *Tartary*, and from a Country called *Tupi*, which is more Oriental, and lyes above the elevation of *Japan*.

A great company of *Tartars* enter *China*.

This people is called *Tupi*, by reason they make their Coats of defence, or Breast plates, of fishes skin, which are in a manner impregnable. Nay, which is more, I saw very many who were come as far as the River *Pole*, which people the *Tartars* call *Alga-Tartars*, and I find they have a Notion of *Muscovy*, and *Polau*; but they are far more barbarous than the Oriental *Tartars* be; with the auxiliary Forces, came in the infant King of six years old, Son to the late deceased King of *Tartary*, and when these were joyned with the body of the Army, then they publickly proclaimed their right to the Empire, and openly declared their concealed intentions; and proclamed this child of six years old, Emperour of *China*, by the name of *Xanchi*; and the new erected Imperial Family they stiled by the name of *Tadicina*. The Child of six years old tooke possession of the ancient Throne of his Forefathers, with a great Gravity and Majesty, from whence he delivered this judicious Speech to the Commanders and to his Army.

The *Tartars* feit upon the Empire of *China*.
Xanchi crownd the first Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*.

It is your strength and power more than my felicity (my dear and generous Uncles, & you the rest of my noble Commanders) which supports my weakness, and makes me so undistinctly ascend and possess this Imperial Throne. My present assurance and this Chairs stability, I hope, is as happy a sign of my future prosperity, as its tottering proved unfortunate to the Thief Licungzus his Tyrannie. You see my first step to the Empire; But I know your valour to be such, that I look not only upon the Kingdom of China as my own, but conceive the Empire of the World, not only by me possessed, but also established. The rewards due to such incomparable Virtues, shall be no other than the riches of the Empire, and Royal dignities; proceed therefore valiantly and stoutly. The whole Court was astonished to hear a Child of six years old speak such things, and hence concluded, that fate or Heaven had elected him for King; the young Prince did assume his eldest Uncle, as his Tutor and Father, the same day he was admitted to the Empire: and therefore the *Tartars* in their language, called him *Amahan*, as much as to say, the Father King; which very thing, the *China's* express by the word *Amavang*. To this man therefore he remitted all the Conduit of his Wars, and to him it is, the *Tartars* owe all their greatness and Dominion: for as he excelled in Counsel and Prudence, so also he was as eminent in fortitude and fidelity; and withall, by the strength and force of his Reasons and Counsels did ravish the wisest men amongst the *Chinenses*; and his Justice and Humanity did wholly enthrall and enchant the popularity. To all which I add those fugitive Magistrates, who, as I related hererofore, had fled to the *Tartars* (to avoid the Emperours indignation) and did not a little promote their cause; for these men, sometimes by word and example, did seduce the hearts of the Subjects, and sometimes suggested excellent Counsels to the *Tartars*, against their own Country; and by both these means advanced themselves to high and eminent dignities amongst the *Tartars*.

The same day some Bands of Souldiers were dispatched, with order to proclaim *Ufangueius* a Tributary King to this new enthralled Emperour; which they performed with great magnificence, adding to his name (as usually they do) the Surname of *Pingsi*, which sounds as much as *Pacifier of the Western world*; establishing his Kingdom in the Capital City in the Province of *Xensi*. This Prince considering, that he could expect no more honourable Dignity from the lawfull Successour to the Empire of *China*; and that the *Tartars* were come into the Empire, in so vast a number, that he could never hope to Conquer them, found means to dispence with his hitherto uncorrupted fidelity, admitting the dignity, and submitting to the Emperour, and so he that had hitherto waged War for *China* against the Theeves, now was forced to march against *China* to subdue its Provinces to the *Tartarian* Empire. And as he was a Great Commander, so also by the help of the *Tartars* he quickly drove out the Theeves from his little Kingdom of *Xensi*, where to this day he reigneth in the Metropolitan City of *Sigan*. But by these honours the *Tartars* removed him from the practice of Arms, who remaining Armed, might have proved a dangerous Enemy.

It was hitherto never known what became of *Licungzu*; some think he was killed by *Ufangueius* in the fight; though he never appeared more, neither

The fidelity of
the Kings Tu-
tor called
Amavangus.

Ufangueius
forced to serve
the *Tartars*.

It is not
known what
became of
Licungzu

ther dead, nor alive, after this fight, in which all his forces were dissipated, or cut off. And with the same facility the *Tartars* subdued the Provinces of *Peking* and *Xantung*; where they immensely augmented their Armies, by the accession of the *China's* Souldiers and Commanders which submitted to them; for the *Tartarians* admitted all, even the Conquered, to their Army, if they did cut their hair, and wear their habits after the *Tartarian* fashion: for in this Puntilio of habit and hair they were so rigorous, as they proclaimed it high Treason in all that did forbear it. Which Law, did many times endanger them, and disturb the whole frame of their Affairs: For the *Chinenses* both grieved, and fought more valiantly for their hair and habit, than for their Kingdom and Emperour; So as many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the *Tartars* in these Ceremonies, of which I could relate many examples, unlese in this relation I had resolved to be brief. But all these little rubs, did not hinder, but that in less than the space of a year, (not counting *Leastung*) they had conquered *Peking*, *Xanf*, *Xensi*, and *Xantung*, which are the four vast Northern Provinces of *China*. In all which they changed nothing in their Political manner of Government, nay, they permitted the usual custom of the Philosophers of *Chinato* govern the Towns and Provinces; they left also the same Examens as were used for the approving of learned men; for by this prudent Counsel they wrought this effect, that having given the places of honour and trust to men of their own Creation, they found they surpassed the very *Tartars* in fidelity to them: yet they kept the *Militia* in their own hands, and the ordering thereof, and yet they stick'd not to admit even to these Offices, such of the Country as were faithfull to them; so, as in the Royal City they retained still the same Orders and degrees of Prefects, together with the six high Tribunals, as they were established in the former Emperours time: but so, as they were now compounded of *Chinenses*, and *Tartars*.

In the mean time the news of the Emperours danger came to the Southern parts of *China*, and the Prefects of every City gathering together very great forces marched towards the City of *Peking*, but in their march they received the sad news of the Emperours death, and the taking of *Peking*; they therefore speedily called back their Forces, and also all their Ships, which yearly used to carry Provisions to the Emperours Court; a little after this, they received the news how the *Tartar* was invested in the Kingdom and proclaimed Emperour. I was then my self in the great City *Nanquin*, where I beheld a strange consternation and confusion in all things, till at length having recollected themselves, the Prefects resolved to choose an Emperour of the Family of the *Taimingers*, whom they called *Jungequangus*. This man had come hither (flying from the Theeves) out of the Province of *Hinan*, and being he was Nephew to that famous Emperour *Vanley*, & cousin Germain to *Zungchin* the last deceased Emperour, they Crowned him with great pomp and ostentation, hoping for better fortune under his Government. As soon as this Prince was chosen, he sent an Embassage to the *Tartars*, begging Peace, rather than demanding it, for he offered them all the Northern Provinces which they had taken; if they would joyn in amity with him. But the *Tartars* well understood the Policy of

The *Tartars*
subdue several
Provinces.

Hungquangus
Crowned Em-
peror in
Nanquin.

The *Tartars*
admit no Peace

Zanchinus his
Son appears at
Nanking.

He causes trou-
bles in *China*.

The flight of
the *Chinæ*.

The City
Tangchew re-
fusing the *Tartar*
is taken and
burnt.

The *Tartars*
take several
places.

of these Prefects and Counsellours, which was only to amuse them with a Peace, whilst they could recover their strength and force; And therefore they returned answer, that they would not receive as a gift, that which they had conquered by force of Arms; but seeing they had chosen a new Emperour, they might do well to defend him; but as for them, they were resolv'd to have all or nothing. This Legacy comming to nothing, whilst both parties prepare to take the Field, appears at *Nanking* a young man, who gave himselfe out to be the eldest Son to the late deceased Emperour Zanchinus; and he gave no small evidences of this truth and Claine; nay, he was acknowledged by many of the Eunuchs. But the new elected Emperour Hunquane, being strongly possessed with an ambition of raigning, would never acknowledge, nor admit him; but commanded him to be imprisioned, and killed, as an Impostor; though many of the Prefects enraged to hear of this order, hindered the execution of the sentence. But by this accident, things grew into a sedition, and the dispute was so high, that it gave occasion to the *Tartars* of assailing the Province and City of *Nanking*; some of the Prefects winking at it, if not enticing them underhand to this exploit. The *Tartars*, vigilant to lay hold of all advantages, hearing of these emulations & divisions, presently march out into the Territory of the City of *Houizan*, and comming to the East side of the River *Croesus*, they passe over speedily by the help of their Boats; on the other side of this River stood the Army of *China*, which was so numerous, as if they had but cast off their very shooes, they had erected such a Rampart against the *Tartars*, as all the Horse would hardly have surmoured it. But it is the resolution and valour in War, that carries the Trophies, not the number of men: for hardly had the *Tartars* set foot in their Boats, but the *Chinæ* ran all away, as Sheep use to do when they see the Wolf, leaving the whole shore unfenced, to their landing. The *Tartars* having passed the River, finding no enemy to resist, enter the most noble Province of *Nassing*, and in a trice make themselves Masters of all the North part of the Country, which lies upon the great River of *Kiang*, which is so vast, as it is worthily called the Son of the Sea; where it deserves particularly to be noted as a rare thing in the Warfare of the *Tartars*, that before they enter into any Country, they chuse and name both the Governours, and Companies, with all the Officers necessary for all the Cities and places which they aim to take; so as in a moment they run like a lightning, and no sooner they possess it but it is fortifyed, armed, and defended. There was one City in these Quarters which made a generous resistance to all their reiterated assaults, called *Tangchew*, where the *Tartars* lost the Son of a little Royalet. This City was defended by that faithful Imperial Champion called *Zuniis Colans*; but though he had a mighty Garrison, yet he was a length forced to yield, and the whole City was fackled, and both Citizen and Souldier put to the Sword; and lefft the multitude of the dead Carcasses, shoud corrupt the Air, and engender the Plague, they laid them all up on the tops of the Houses, and setting fire both to the City and Suburbs brought all to ashes, and to a total desolation.

By this progreſſe the Forces of the *Tartar* much encreas'd; for the Governours of many places, & ſeveral Regiments came to ſubmit to his Do- minor.

minion. To all whom he, commonly, continued the fame Commands and Offices they were eftablifhed in before, and advanced many of them to higher dignity, and ſo by this Humanitie with which he treated all that came flying to him, and by the crueltie he uſed to thoſe that refolved to make reſiſtance to the Force of his Arms, he gained this, that moſt men refolved to partake of his ſweet treatie, rather than of his cruelty, ſo he eaſily conqueſted all that which lies on the North ſide of that River, which I na- med before the Son of the Sea. This River being a German League in breadth, and riſing from the West of *China*, holds its course to the East, and diuides the Kingdom into Northern and Southern Quarters; it alſo diuides the Country of *Nanking* in the very middle; though *Nanking* the Metro- politan and Royal City be placed in the Southern part. To Maſter this great Citie, they were to paſſe this River. They gathered therefore to- gether many Ships, to Conquer this new Emperial ſeat, and alſo the new ſet- tled Empreour. The Fleet of *China* commanded by the moft generous and faithfull Admiral called *Hoangchoangus*, lay towards the other ſide of this River. Here the Admiral fought fo gallantly and resoluteſly, that he made it appear to the world, that the *Tartars* were not invincible; Till at length one of his own Commanders called *Thienus* born in the Citie of *Leotung*, being corrupted by the *Tartars*, ſhot him with an Arrow to death: which Arrow fixed the uncoſtant wheel of *Chinas* fortune, and loſt the whole Empire. But the Traitor, not contented with this perfidious Act, began himſelf to run away, and by his example drew all the rest to imitate this ignominious Action. His impudence paſſed yet to a higher strain: for com- ming to the Imperial Citie, and finding the Empreour preparing to retire, he joyned himſelfe with him, as a faithfull friend, participating of his ad- verſity; till he ſaw the *Tartars* (who paſſing the River followed the Kings flight with all imaginariy diligence) were come near him, & then he took the Empreour Prisoner, and delivered him to the *Tartarian* Army in the year MDCXLIV. This unfortunate Prince being thus betrayed before he had reigned full one year, was ſent to *Peking*, and there upon the Town Walls was hanged publickly in a Bow string, which kind of death the *Tartars* eſteem moft noble. The pretended Son to the Empreour Zanchinus, (whether he were true or falſe,) run the ſame courſe of fortune, when they had diſcovered him being kept ſtill in Prison: for they did not onely put to death all thoſe which belonged to the Imperial Family of the *Tai- minges*: by Confanguinitie, but after a diligent ſearch extirpat all they could find, which belonged to them even by Affinitie; for it is a cuſtom in *Asia*, if any one conqueſta Kingdom, to root out all that belong to the Royal Family.

After this, they diuided their Army into two parts, the one they ſent to conqueſt the Mediterranean Provinces of *Kiauf*, *Huguang*, & *Quang- tung*, which are all of a marvellous extent, the other, like a ſwift Torrent, over-run all, till they came to the very Walls of the renowned and vast City of *Hangchew*, which is the head City of the Province of *Chekiang*. In- to this City the principal fugitives of the Army of *China* were retired, and thoſe not only of the common Souldiers, but many great Commanders, and Prefects, where they refolved to chuze a new Empreour called *Louen- gus*,

The Empreour
Hunquane is
taken and kil-
led.

The *Tartars*
run to the Ci-
ty *Hangchew*.

King *Lovingus*
love to his
Subjects.

Many of the
Kings Souldiers
drowned.

Hangchou is
taken.

of the ancient Family of *Taimingus*: But this Prince would never assume the Title of Emperor; but contented himself with the Title of King, thinking his fall would be less; and his death not so bitter, as if he fell from the Throne of an Emperor: but yet to the end to animate them to fight with more vigour than they had done heretofore, he promised them to take that Title when they had re-gained one Imperial City. He had not reigned three dayes (a shorter space than their personated Kings use many times to reign in their Tragedies) but the *Tartars* arrive; Which the fugitive Souldiers seeing, & thinking by this pinch of necessity to force their pay from the King and City, refused to fight before they had received their salary. It was on this occasion, that King *Lovingus* his heart, being not able to bear such a desolation of the City, of his people and subjects, as he foresaw, gave such an example of his Humanity and Piety, as *Europe* never saw; for he mounted upon the City Walls, and calling upon his Knees to the *Tartarian* Captains, begged the life of his Subjects. *Spare not me* (quoth he) *I wil willingly be my Subjects victim*; & having said this, he presently went out to the *Tartars* Army, and was taken. This illustrious testimony of his love to his Subjects had not rewarded a reward to Crown so Heroick an Action, if it had met with a generous Soul, like that of *Alexander* or of *Cesar*. When they had the King Prisoner, they commanded the Citizens to shut the Gates, and keep the Walls, least either their own, or the Kings Souldiers should enter the City; and presently they fell upon the Kings men, whom they butchered in a most cruel manner, but yet the water destroyed more, than their Swords or Arrows; for many cast themselves headlong into the great River of *Cian-thang*, which is a League broad, and runs near the City; others leaping and overcharging the Boats in the River were presently sunk; others flying away full of fear and confusion, thrust one another at the River side into that unmerciful Element; and by all these many thousands perished. The *Tartars* wanting boats to passe this River, having thus expelled or killed the Souldiery, they returned Triumphant to the City, where they used neither force, nor violence; by which means this noble City was conserved, whole beauty, greatness, and riches, I hope to describe elsewhere, not by hear-say, but by what I saw, in the three years space I lived in it, from which I lately came into *Europe*. This City of *Hangchen* hath an Artificial Channel or Dike to passe water to the Northern parts of *China*; This Chanel is only separated by the high part of the way like a Causeway from the River, which as I said, runs on the South part of the City. The *Tartars* therefore drew many Boats out of this Chanel over the Causeway into the River *Cian-thang*, and with the help of these Boats they passed the River without resistance, and found the fairest City in all *China*, called *Xaoking*, prone enough to submit to their victorious Armes. This City in bignesse yields to many others, but in cleanliness and comeliness it surpasses all: it is so environed with sweet waters as a man may contemplate its beauty by rounding it in a Boat; it hath large and fair Streets paved on both sides with white square stones, and in the middle of them all runs a Navigable Chanel, whose sides are garnished with the like ornament; and of the same stone there are also built many fair Bridges

Bridges and Triumphant Arches; the Houses also, (which I observe no where else in *China*) are built of the same square stone; so as in a word, I saw nothing neater in all *China*. They took this Town without any resistance, and so they might have done all the rest of the Southern Towns of this Province of *Chekjiang*. But when they commanded all by Proclamation to cut off their Hair, then both Souldier and Citizen took up Armes, and *The Chinese* fought more desperately for their Hair of their Heads, than they did for Hair. King or Kingdom, and beat the *Tartars* not only out of their City, but repulsed them to the River *Cian-thang*: nay forced them to passe the River, killing very many of them. In truth, had they past the River, they might have recovered the Metropolis with the other Towns: But they pursued their victory no further, being sufficiently contented that they had preserved their Hair, resisting them only on the South side of the shore, and there fortifying themselves. By this means the conquering Armes of the *Tartars* were repressed for a whole year. But the *Chinese* that they might have a Head, chose *Lu Regulus* of the *Taimingian* Family for their Emperor, who would not accept therof, but would be only killed, The Restorer of the Empire. In the mean time the *Tartars* had sent new forces out of *Peking*, with which they left nere a Stone unturned, that they might get over the River *Cian-thang*; but all was in vain. The drooping affairs therefore of the *Chinese* now breathed again, nay having gathered together more Forces, they promised themselves greater victories. But the ambition and emulation of ruling frustrated all their hopes. For the Commanders, and Presidents which fled out of the Province of *Chekian* into the Country of *Fokien*, carried with them one of *Taiminga's* Family, called *Thangus*; and this man they chose King in the Country of *Fokien*, which confineth with *Chekjiang*. This Prince pretended that the King called *Lu*, should yeeld up his right to him, both because he had but a few Cities under him, and also because he was further removed from the Imperial Race, than he was. But King *Lu*, pretended he was Proclaimed by the Army, before him, and failed not to set forth his victories over the *Tartars*. By which two contentions, the *Tartars* kept the Crown; for these two Royalets, would never yeeld to one another, nor so unite their Armies, as joynly to repreffe the *Tartars*. Since therefore this petty King *Lu* had only eight Cities under his command, whose Contributions were not able to maintain the necessary pay of his Army, he never durst venture to passe over the River, but endeavoured only to defend himself. But the *Tartars* fought all means possiblly to get over this River, yet they durst not venture to passe in Boats, because King *Lu* had many ships, and good store of Artillery which he had caused to be brought from Sea. But the *Tartars* felicity, and prosperous fortune, overcame this difficulty: for, as it happened, that year being drier than ordinary, this River towards the South, where it runs betwixt high Mountains, and is deprived of the flowing of the Sea, had lost much of its depth; and here the *Tartars* Horse found it passeable and because the rudenesse of those Mountains, seemed a sufficient Guard to the Country, passe the River, and recover the try, they found no Souldiers to resist; but as soon as the Clowns elipted City *Xaoking*, twenty of their Horse to have passed the River, they presently adverſed

The Island of
Cheukan be-
comes a
Kingdom.

The City of
Kinbau is taken
and destroyed.

the Army, and they all betook themselves to flight. King *Lu* himself left the City *Xaoking*, and not daring to trust himself to the Continent, he took Ship and sailed to the Island called *Cheukan*, which lies oppofit to the City of *Nimpo*; where he remains to this day safe, and keeps still his Regal Dignitie; which Island being heretofore only a retreat for Fishermen, and some Clowns, now is become a potent Kingdom; by reafon that many fly from *China* to this King *Lu*, as to their Sanctuary to confeve the libertie of their Hair. In this Island there are now found threefcore and ten Cities, with a strong and formidable Army, which hitherto hath contemned all the *Tartarian* Power and Forces, and watch for some happy occation to advance again their Kingdom in *China*. But by this means, the *Tartars* took all the Cities and Towns of the County of *Chekian* into their Dominion. One only City of *Kinbau*, whose President was alweil a Native of the place, as also the Commander in chief, and my very singular friend, fustained the *Tartars* assaults for ſome months. But to the end the resistance of this City ſhould not be a hindrance to the course of their Vitories, the *Tartars* diuided their Army into three parts. The first part marched by the City *Kinbau*, and the Mountains the ſecond by the City *Vencheu*, and the Sea Shore, into the Province of *Fokien*, and the third obſtinateley besieged the City of *Kinbau*. At which time I by leave from the Emperor *Lungwus*, reſided in *Henua* a City ſubject to that of *Vencheu*, which preſently after was besieged, and taken by the *Tartars*, together with many other neighbouring Cities. I dwelt in a very fair houſe of the City *Vencheu*, the whole Town then being in a tumult by reafon of the fare and flight of moft of the Citizens. Alſoone as I underſtood of the approach of the *Tartars*, I fixed over the faireſt gate of the houſe, a red paper very long and broad, with this Inſcription upon it. *Here dwells the European Doctor of the Divine Law*. For I had obſerved the *China* Gouernours when they take any journey to affix ſuch Inſcriptions upon the houſes where they happen to lodge, that all men may take notice what great perſons are there. Likewise at the entrance of the greater Hall, I fet out my greatest and faireſt bound books: to theſe I added my Mathematicall Inſtruments, propeſtives, and other optick glaſes, and what else I thought might make the greateſt show, and withall I placed the picture of our Sauiour upon an altar erected for that purpoſe. By which fortunate ſtratagem I not onely eſcaped the violence and plunder of the common Souldier, but was invited, and kindly entertained by the *Tartarian* Vice-Roy. Who demanded of me whether I would with a good will change my *China* haabit, and cut off my hair. To which I readily conſented; and ſo he commanded me to be ſhaven there in his preſence; and I telling him, that a ſhaven head would not ſo well ſuite with a *China*-Garment, he pluk't off his own boots, and made me draw them on, put his *Tarter* bonnet on my head, feasted me at his Table, and accomodating me with his Paffe, diuined me to my ancient quarters in the noble City *Hauhsu*, where we had a ſtately Church and Colledge: In the ſiege of *Kinbau*, the *Tartars* by reafon of great Guns which continually plaide upon them, and by the wife conduct and courage of their noble Commander, ſuffered many and great loſſes; in ſomuch as he forced them to pitch their

their Camp further from the City; But at length they alſo brought Artillery from the chief City of the Province, by which they made ſo many breaches in the Walls, as theſe being in a manner diuinated, they found entrance, and burned and ſacked it with all imaginable Hostility. The Gouernour blew up himſelf and all his Family with a Barrel of Gunpowder in his own Pallace, leaſt he, or his, ſhould fall into the Enemies hands.

The Province of *Fokien* is invironed with the bordering Countries of *Quangung*, *Kiansi*, and *Chekian*, from all which it is ſeparated by a continual Chain of Mountains which are in breadth of three daies journey to paſſe over; and withall, to full of ragged and rugged Clifts, and obſcure Vallies, as they make the very Paths horrid, dark and obſcure at Noon day. Inſomuch, as without any exaggeration, they may well be parallelled either to the Grecian Straits of *Thermopolis*, or to the Asian rugged and ſtrait paſſage of *Taurus*. These places might have been eaſily defended if they had but placed a few Clowns, to repel the Enemy, or croſſed the wayes by any incumbrances; but the very imagination of a *Tarter* was grown ſo terrible to them, as they fled at the very ſight of their Horses, leaving therefore these Mountains wholly ungarnished, the *Tartars* found a paſſage, but ſo very painful, and full of difficulties, as they were forced to leave much of their Baggage behind them; and lost many of their Horses, in thoſe fearful precipices; but by this meaneſ they took the Province of *Fokien* with as much eaſe, as it might have been defended; for they hardly ſpent as much time in taking it as a man would doe to walk the extenſ of it. The King himſelf named *Lungwus* (which ſignifieth a Warlike Dragon) ſhewed himſelf a fearful Sheep, flying away with a good Army of men, if that word rightly can be applyed to a numerouſ multitudine that had no hearts; but his flight ſerved him for nothing, for the *Tartars* following him with their ſwift and nimble Horses, ſhot all this flock of ſilly Sheep to death with Arrows. It is thought the King himſelf was involved in this Maſſacre, for he never appeared, nor was heard of afterwards.

Now because the whole Province submitted it ſelf voluntarily unto them without any reſiſtance, it did not only ſuffer little from the *Tartars*, but they had many choife and ſelect Souldiers out of it, and having thus again recruited their Army, they made another irruption into the Country of *Quangung*; and its worth remarking, that the other *Tartarian* Commander, who, when the Army was diuided (as I related before,) had order to ſubdue the Mediterranean Countries, with the ſame felicity and expedition paſſing victoriouſ through the Provinces of *Hauhung* and *Kiangsi*, entred also on one ſide of this Country of *Quangung*, whiſt the other came in by *Fokien* upon the other ſide, and because the Town of *Nankiang* refolved to fight it out, they conuinc'd it all, by fire and ſword. So the poor Country of *Quangung* opprefſed by a double viaduous Army, was quickly over-run & subdued. After this, one of the viaduous Armies, enriched with all the rarities of *China*, was called back to *Peking*, but yet they left a Garrison in every City, affieng in the name of the King of *Tartars* both Civil and Martial Officers, for the Countries Government.

The Provinces
of *Quangung*
is taken.

The

A famous Py-
rate in China.

The happy success in taking the impregnable Province of *Fokien*, is attributed by wise men, (to whose judgement I also submit) to a more remote and hidden cause, which I will briefly relate. There was at this time a famous and renowned Pyrat called *Chinchilungus*; this man was born in the Province of *Fokien*, of which we are treating; he first served the Portuguese in *Macao*; then he served the Hollander in the Island called *Formosa*, where he was known to all strangers by the name of *Iquon*. After this he became a Pyrat, but being of quick and nimble wit, he grew from this small and slender fortune, to such a height and power, as he was held either Superior or equal to the Emperor of *China*; for he had the Trade of *India* in his hand; and he dealt with the Portuguese in *Macao*; with the Spaniards in the *Philippines*; with the Hollanders in the Island *Formosa*, and new *Holland*; with the *Japonians*, and with all the Kings and Princes of the Eastern parts in all manner of rich commodities. He permitted none to transport the Wares of *China* but himself or his, to whom he brought back the riches and the Silver of *Europe* and *Indies*; for after he once rather extorted, than obtained pardon of the King of *China* for his Pyracies, he became so formidable, as that he had no less than three thousand Ships of which he was Lord and Master. Nor was he contented with this fortune, but alighted privately to no less than to the Empire; But because he knew he never should be accepted of the Prefects and people, as long as there was any of the Imperial Family of the *Taiminges* alive, he hoped by the *Tartars* means to extinguish them wholly, and after this was done, then he resolved to display his Banners and Ensigns in so pious a cause, as the driving out the common Enemy from the bowels of the Kingdom; and no doubt but under this pretext, they would all have followed, helped and even adored him, as their Saviour. It was therefore evident that he had secret correspondence with the *Tartars*; and that he favoured them for his own profit; And that which made the businesse more suspicious was, that at that time when the *Tartars* made their irruption into *Fokien*, he was then declared Lord Marshal of the Kingdom, and all the Generals, Commanders and Souldiers, were either of his affinity, or wholly at his Command and Obedience. And therefore it is no wonder, if the *Tartars* found an easie admittance into the Country of *Fokien*; of which they presently made him King *Pingnam*, (as much as to say, *Pacifier of the South*) and they added many other Dignities, and Offices of trust, that they might more speciu-
mly illude him; for either they knew his aspiring mind, or else his great power and authoritie was suspicous and formidable to them; but yet all the while that the General of the *Tartars* remained in *Fokien*, they never expressed the least diffidence in him, but both with favours, courtesies, presents and honours, they studied how further to ingage him, and promised him the Government of many more Provinces. He made himself therefore secure of the Government of all the Southern Provinces; but all hap-
pened quite contrary to his expectation; for when this General of the *Tartars*, who was obserued as a little King, was to depart to *Peking*, the custom was for all the Officers of the Kingdom to conduct him, for some part of his journey, to give him an honourable farewell; which last duty of Civility, *Iquon* could not handsomely avoid, nor indeed, had heavy reason

to

The *Tartars*
deceive the Py-
rat, and take
him prisoner
by meer Art.

to be diffident in him, so as he left his Navie in the Port of *Eachen*, and accompanied the Royolet with great splendor and magnificence. But when he came to take leave, and demand Licence to return, the General of the *Tartars*, invited him a long to *Peking*, where he promised him yet greater honours from the Kings own person, to reward his Merits. He endeavoured by all imaginable impediments, to excuse this journey, but nothing was accepted, he was forced, by their kindnesse, to accompany them to *Peking*; and so he was taken by Art, who by Arms seemed Insuperable. He is yet detained in Prison in *Peking*, because his Brothers and Kindred hearing of his Captivity, presently seized on the Fleet; with which they have much infested *China*, as we shall touch hereafter.

In the mean time the other Army which had passed the Mediterranean ^{The *Tartars*} Provinces of *Huquang*, *Kiansi*, and *Quangtung*, invaded the Country of ^{overthrew} *Quangsi*. But here it was that the Arms of the *Tartars* which hitherto were held invincible, were shewed to be weak, & where they least expected opposition, there they found a stop to their conquests. It happened that in this Province of *Quangsi* the Vice-Roy, called *Khiu Thomas*, was a Christian; and also all the *Milicia* of that Country was commanded by *Ching Lucas*, whose family for five Generations has served the Emperours of *China*, with as much constancy and fidelity, as they did Christ. These two having gathered many together, which fled from all parts into *Quangsi*, after the *Tartars* had taken many places in the Country, overthrew the *Tartarians* in a set Battail, and passing into the confining Province of *Quangtung*, they recovered all the Western part of it. After this, that they might have a head to fight for, and who might command and govern them in all Occurrences, and withall, to draw the minds and hands of the *Chinese* to the common defence of the Country, knowing that in the City of *Quelin*, which is the head City of *Quangsi*, there was one of the *Taiminges* Family living, who was Nephew to the Great *Vaneius*, they elected him Emperor, and called by the name of *Jungley*. This Prince fixed his Imperial seat in the noble City of *Chaking* in the Province of *Quangtung*, and hitherto has fought several times with the *Tartars*, with good success. And in this Princes Court, the chief Eunuch called *Pang Achilleus*, is the greatest favourite, and a great Servant of Christ, whom he hath long professed sincerely to worship, both by word, and deed; for, to propagate Christianitie, he has ever maintained a mission of Jesuites about him, by whose painfull endeavours many have embraced the Faith of Christ. And amongst others the very Mother of this Emperour, his Wife, and his eldest Son, Heir of the Empire, called *Constantin*, did all embrace Christianity. May this Man by the prayers of all Christians prove another *Constantine* to the Empire of *China*. The Emperour himself is not averse from Christianitie, but hitherto he hath defer'd his Baptism, but yet he permitted his Wife to send a Father of the Society, to do homage to the Sea-Apostolick, as all Europe has heard. God of his goodness grant him that felicity, which may redound to the universal good of *China*, and Gods greater glory.

But it was not only in *Quangsi* that the *Chinese* began to resume their Theeves infest courage, but in the Province of *Fokien* also; for no sooner was the *Tartar* the Province of *Fokien*.

The Heir to
the Empire
becomes
Christian.

rian Army called back to Peking, but a petty Heathen Priest broke out of the Mountains of Fokien, with a band of seditious fellows, and subduing the *Tartarian* Garrisons took the fair City of Kienning, and many others from their subjection; and others which lay lurking in the Mountaines following his example, recovered also many other Cities; about which time also the friends and Kindred of the Captive Iquin did extremely infect the Sea, and making descents upon the Land, vexed the Province extremely about the Quarters of Siuenschou, and Changchou. At this time a chief Governor of the *Tartarians*, Vice-roy of two Provinces was at Cheksang, who hearing of these commotions came presently by night in great haste with all the force he could make, towards the Mountains of Fokien; for he with reason feared lest they should take possession of the Passages of those places, which if they had done, the whole Province had been re-gained. But when this Vice-roy, called Changus, found the Mountains and Passages clear, & no opposition made in such difficult places, he then proclaimed himself victorious, and his enemies perfidious Rebels: wherefore coming without resistance into the Country, he besieged the City Kienning, which was defended by Yangu. This Siege held some weeks, but he never could take the place by force, and therefore having lost many of his men by assaults, he judged it best rather to block up the place afar off, than to besiege it so close and neer. But yet by this, he hindered other forces from joyning with Yangu, so that he was not strong enough to fall out upon them.

When the noyse of these commotions came to Peking, the Emperour presently sent a new supply to appease these tumults; and this fresh Army comming to joyn with the other, brought the City to great streights; but yet they could not win it, til at length they found means by a rare invention to transport their Canons over the Mountains upon Porters Shoulders, by which means they dismantled the Town, and put all whatsoever to the Sword, to the number of thirty thousand persons, as my own friends writ unto me; and not content with this, they let fire on the Town, and brought it all to ashes, by which means, the stately Church erected by the Christians for the service of God, was also consumed by that devouring flame, yet the Priests that served in that Church got out miraculously as Lot did out of Sodom, which name was appropriated to this City, by reason of that infamous vice. This City being taken, it was no hard matter to recover the Country, for some fled to save themselves in the Mountains, others ran to the Sea, and so when this new Army had pacified all, they were called back to Peking; where it is not amisse to observe the policy which the *Tartars* use in the Government and ordering of their Army: They are ever calling back some, and sending out others; in which proceeding they aim at two things; first to keep the Countries in awe and subjection, by seeing variety of Troops continually passing up and down; and secondy, to provide for the poorer sort of Souldiers; for the wealthy Souldier is called back to recreat, and ease labours, and the poor Souldier seeing his Companion grown rich, takes heart and courage to run the same course upon hopes of the like good fortune.

Yet for all these preventions and cautions, their Empire was not so established,

Changus the Commander of the Tartars besieges Kienning in vain.

It is at length taken and razed.

established, but by frequent rebellions it was often indangered, and particularly by one Rebellion, which now I will relate, which shaked shrewdly the foundations of the new Empire. The Kingdome of China is of so vast an extent, as it is a businesse of main importance, to distribute judiciously the Armies and Garrisons. Now because the *Tartars* alone cannot suffice to furnish both, they are forced to use the help of the *Chineses*; themselves, although they have a special care never to leave or place either Commander or Souldier, who is a Native, in the same Country; yet this care could not exempt them from several Treasons, and Rebellions; though they distribute & order their *Milits*, with great circumspection; for the chief Commander or Governor resides in the Metropolitan City, whom all inferior Officers obey. This man maintaines alwayes a compleat Army, which he commands to march, when he hears of any risings. Every City has also their own proper Governour, with a competent number of Souldiers, but those for the most part are *Tartars*, and these are *Chineses*. But all this Politicall, and well-established Government could not defend them from Traitors amongst themselves. The first man that did revolt from them was one *Kinus* Governor of the Province of *Kiangsi*. This man was born in *Leasung*, and because it is a Country that vince rebels borders upon *Tartary*, the King commonly most confides in the Natives *leath*, of that Province. It happened I know not how, that this Governour, by reason of some corruptions, and Avarice of the Visitor of the Country, had some contests with him, which grew by little and little to a secret hatred; and although they both dissembled their private malice, as usually they do in *China*, yet at length the flame broke out to the ruin of the Country; for being the one was Governor of the Armes, and the other of Justice, there was a necessity of often meetings, & feastings also. It happened once that whilst they were feasted with a sumptuous Banquet, they were also entertained by a pleasant Comedy, in which the Actors were attired with the habits of *China*, which were more comely and fairer than those which the *Tartars* use; upon which occasion *Kinus* turning himself to the Visitor said, *Is not this habit better, & graver than ours?* This innocent speech was interpreted by his corriual Judge, as if he had contemned the Edict about changing of Habits, and expressed too much love to the *Chines* Garments, before those of the *Tartars*; and of this he sent an Expressie to advertise the Emperour.

But the Governour *Kinus*, had corrupted a Secretary, which served the Lord Chief Justice, who gave him intelligence of all that passed in word or deed in his Masters House. And as soon as he had notice that this Letter was sent to the Court, he presently dispatched those, who intercepted the Packet, which the Governour having read, went presently armed to the Judges Palace, whom he suddenly killed. Then presently he with the whole Province revolted from the *Tartars*, and with the great applause of all the *Chineses*, he submitted himself to *Jungley* the new elected Emperour. One only City called *Cancheu*, which was governed by an incorrupted *Tartar*, refused to submit; which was the whole, and only cause, that the *Tartars* did recover the two Provinces *Kiansi* and *Quamming*; both which Provinces revolted at the same time with their Commanders, and

P p both

How the Tartars dispose their Garrisons.

The hatred betwixt the two Prefects diilurbs the Country of Kiansi.

Bellum Tartaricum.

Many places revolt from
the Tatars.

The deceipt
of the Governor
of Cancheu.

both submitted also to the new elected Emperor. *Lihuzus* was Governor of *Quamgung* at that time, who resolved to joyn his Forces with *Kinus*, and so to cast the *Tartars* out of the Empire, which it is believed they might have effected, if the Governor of *Cancheu*, which is the Key and entrance into four Provinces, had not cunningly undermined all their designs and intentions. But this man hearing that *Lihuzus* had revolted, and marched to joyn his Army with *Kinus*, dispatched to him this deceitful Letter, *I have not hitherto submitted to Kinus, because I knew his forces were not equal, nor able to resist the Tartars: But seeing thou, most renowned and valiant Captain, beginnest also to march against them, my hope concerning them are at end, I am thine, and embrase thy cause, whensoever thou shalt come, or send, I will render my City to thee or thine.* But in the mean time he sent to all the Governors in *Fokien*, to send him secretly all the possible succour they could raise altogether. *Lihuzus* having received the Letter marched towards him, cheerfully, and confidently; But though he found the Gates of the City open, yet he was furiously repelled by the *Tartarians* opposition; which unexpected accident so astonished his Souldiers, as many of them perished, and amongst the rest it is thought himself was killed, for he was never heard of after.

This reverse and croffe fortune did much disturb the progresse of the Emperor *Jangley*'s affairs; though *Kinus* in the mean time had many singular victories over the *Tartars*; for when the chief Governoeur of all the Western parts of *China*, who had placed his chief Seat in *Nanking*, had gathered great Forces to represe his aspiring mind, yet he was severall times routed & overthrown by him; and if *Kinus* had pursued the course of his victories, he might have come to the very Walls of *Nanking*; but he was sollicitous of the City of *Cancheu*, which obliged him to a retreat; for neither was it safe for him to leave an enemy behind him, nor could he receive victuals from the Emperor *Jangley*, but by *Cancheu*, which is the natural descent of the River; and therefore when he heard of *Lihuzu*'s defeat, he presently besieged that City with his whole Army. But whilst he was besieging this City, there came, unfortunately, a new Army of *Tartars* from the Imperial City of *Peking*, which had order to recover this Province of *Kiangsi*; and therefore *Kinus* was forced to raise his Siege to oppose their entrance by the Northern parts of the Country. And at first vying a vast Army, and used to the *Tartarian* warfare, he fought both valiantly and happily; but not being able to sustain any longer their redoubled violent assaults, he was forced to retire for his security to *Nanchang*, the chief City of that Country, which City the *Tartars* durst not venture to take by force, but resolved to reduce it by a long Siege; for which end they gathered together a Company of Country Clowns to make a large and spacious Trench round about the City to the River, and there they placed Ships, so as no Provision could possibly enter. This City of *Nanchang* is great and extremely full of inhabitants, besides the multitude of Souldiers which defended it at that time; so as although *Kinus* had made great Provision for a Siege, yet after some moneths he came to great want and penury; and yet he held it out though many dyed, expecting still some succours from the Emperor *Jangley*, which could not be sent; because the

Kinus besieged
by the *Tartars*.

Bellum Tartaricum.

the Souldiers of *Quamgung* could never subdue the City of *Cancheu*, by which his succour was to passe; wherefore *Kinus* being brought to great extremity, expressed his mind to his Souldiers in these words, *There is no further hope, (my faithful Companions) but in our own valour and strength, we must force our way through the Tartarian Army by dint of Sword, be courageous, and follow my example.* And having ordered all affairs, he suddenly made a Sally out of the Town upon their Trenches; where, though he found a vigorous opposition, yet, with great difficulty, he passed and forced their Trenches, by which means he saved himself and his Army, having killed many *Tartars*; for it is constantly reported that *Kinus* with a good part of his Army lives in the Mountains, expecting there some good occasion to renew the War.

He being thus escaped, the *Tartars* pillaged the City, and put all the Citizens to the sword; for it is the *Tartars* custom to spare all Cities which submit to them; and to those which have made resistance before they be taken, they are more cruell; but they never spare or pardon those Cities which revolt after they have once been taken. In this Slaughter they killed the two Priests which there assisted the Christians; and their ancient and fair Church was burned in the City. After this, the *Tartars* easily recovered the whole Country, and having appeased all, and left new Garisons in all places, the Army returned victorous to the Royal City of *Peking*. In the mean time this Court prepared new Armies to reduce *Quamgung* with the other Provinces which acknowledged *Jangley* for the Emperor of *China*; for the Tutor to the young King of *Tartary*, finding the defections and rebellions in the Southern parts to be very frequent, resolved to give those Quarters over to some Tributary Royolets, the better to contain those Countries in their duties; wherefore in the year MDCXLIX, he sent many Armies three Armies, consisting partly of *Tartars*, and partly of *Chineses*, under the Emperor three Tributary Princes, to govern these Provinces with absolute power of *China*, and Dominion; one of them was King of *Fokien*, another of *Quamgung*, and the third of the Province of *Quangsi*; but with this condition, that first, of all they should joyn their Forces to recover the Country of *Quamgung*, and drive away the Emperor *Jangley*. But we shall say more of this hereafter; now having seen the Rebellions of the South, let us look a little back on the Rebellions in the North against the *Tartars* also.

In these Northern parts the *Chineses* shewed their desire of Liberty as much as they had done in the South; where the Commanders though overthrown, yet not taken, retired into the abrupt and precipitous Mountains, where they held Counsel, how they might shake off the *Tartars* Dominion; three of these heads inhabited the thickest and highest places of that mountainous Country, the chiefeft of whom was called *Hou*; this *Hou* being strong in men, invited the rest to joyn with him, to deliver his Country from this miserable thrallome; one of them consented, the other could not come, but sent him two thousand men to assist him; so as *Hou* marched out with five and twenty thousand men; which was no contemptible Army if they had been as courageous, as numerous: He put out a Proclamation, in which he challenged the *Tartars*, and threatened them all extremities; and to the *Chineses*, he promised all liberty and freedom;

The City of
Nanchang is
destroyed.

Three Kings
created with as
many Armies
against *Jangley*

and
Dominion; one of them was King of *Fokien*, another of *Quamgung*,

and the third of the Province of *Quangsi*; but with this condition, that first,

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The barbarous resolution of a
Tartarian Governor.

and upon these hopes, many Towns and Cities admitted him very willingly. *Sian*, the Metropolitan of the Country, was the only place able to resist him, having within its Walls three thousand *Tartars*, and two thousand selected men of *Chins*, who served the *Tartar*. The Governor of this Town hearing of *Hou's* motion, gathered all things necessary for a long Siege, till a new supply of *Tartarian* Forces could be sent him. But when he heard that all the Towns and Cities in the Country did voluntarily submit themselves to *Hou*, to prevent the like effect in this City, he resolved to murder all the Citizens most barbarously, nor would he ever be removed from this unhumane sentence, till the Vice-Roy commanding and persuading, and the Citizens promising all faithfull service, at length he changed this Tyrannical Counsel. But he commanded under pain of death, that the *Chineses*, who loved so much their Hair, that they only cut a little of it away, about their Temples, should hereafter shave it off wholly and totally, that so he might distinguish the Citizens from any others, if perchance they entred: he ordained besides, that if any spoke more than two together, they should all be presently killed, he forbade all men to walk upon the Walls, or to walk in the streets by night, or to keep a fire or candle in his house by night, and finally disarmed all, declaring it death to infringe any of these orders.

The chief City called Sian is besieged. These things being thus ordered, he sent out some Scouts to discover the enemies strength, who were partly killed, and partly came flying back to the City: but this *Tartarian* Governor, as well to make an ostentation of his strength, as of his security, commanded the City Gates to be left open, nor would he permit the Draw Bridge to be raised or pulled up, to shew he feared nothing. But for all this, the Commander *Hou* besieges this City afar off, (which was three leagues compassed,) out of the reach of their Artillery; and to the end he might make a shew of greater forces than indeed he had, he joyned to his Army a company of dull headed Clowns, by which means he made up a body of thirty thousand men. The Governor of the City seeing such an Army, as appeared, believed them all to be Souldiers, and lest his Citizens should joyn with them, he thought again of cutting all their throats; but his friends ever diverted him from this outrageous cruelty, and it diverted him from such horrid projects, when he walking upon the Walls, saw the *Chineses* under his colours fight so valiantly against *Hou*, for when he saw this, he used to cry out in their Language, *Hou Manca*, (as much as to say) O good *Barbarians*; for so the *Tartars* call the *Chineses*, as conquering Nations use to expose the conquered to scorn and derision; and he oft owned this scoff with these words, *Manca Manca*, as much as to say, Let the barbarous kill the barbarous; and when they returned victorious, he did not only praise them, but gave them Money, and other precious rewards, which were exposed to publick view upon the Walls, to animate them to high and generous exploits, so as *Hou* finding no Body stir in the City, as he expected, could do nothings, besides there came new succours to the *Tartarian* Army, which when *Hou* understood by his spies, he presently retired. But yet this flight did not serve his turn, nor could he wholly escape the *Tartars* hands, for the Horsemen pursuing them, fell upon the Rear, and killed many, carrying away

great store of Riches, which the Commander distributed in such proportion, as he gave most to such as were wounded, what became of *Hou* after this action, is unknown, and therefore I conclude, that the Northern revolts produced no other effect, but the spoyl, Rapin and Plunder of all those Quarters, as it had produced the like in the Southern parts. The *Tartars* having happily overcome all difficulties hitherto, fell into another by their own intolency, from the year MDCXLIX. the Emperor of the *Tartars*, being now grown up to man's Estate, deford to *Marry*, the Daughter of the King of *Kiangus*, who is Prince of the Western *Tartars*, hoping by this match, to coverte the friendship of him, whose Forces he feared; for this end he sent his Uncle to him, who was King of *Pusang*. This Prince passed by the impregnable City of *Taiwang*, which as it is the last City towards the North, so also it is the Key and Bulwark of the Province of *Xans* against the intrusion of the Western *Tartars*, for it commands all the Souldiers which keep the many Fortifications of those Quarrels, where a fair Level down extending it self beyond that famous Wall, I mentioned heretofore, gives a fit occasion for the incursion of the *Tartars*. The Women of this City are held the most beautiful of all *Chins*, and therefore it hapened, that some of the Embassadors followers did ravish some of them, and also carried away by a Rape, a Person of quality, as she was carried home to her Spouse, which was a thing never heard of heretofore amongst the *Chineses*. The people had recourse for these injuries to *Kiangus*, who governed those Quarters for the *Tartars*, who hearing of this grosse abuse, sent to that peccy Prince *Pusang*, to demand the new Maried Lady to be restored, and to desire him to prevent future disorder in that nation; but he gave a very slight Ear to such complaints, and therefore *Kiangus* himself went unto him, who was not only slighted, but even cast out of the Palace. His anger was quickly turned into rage, which made him resolve to revenge that injury by the *Tartars* blood, he therefore musters up his Souldiers, and presently falls on the *Tartars*, whis all he could encounter, the Embassador himself being let down by the Walls of the Town, hardly escaped by small strokes. This *Kiangus* displayed a Banner, wherein he declared himself Subject to the Empire of *Chin*, but named no Emperor in particular, because perchance he had heard nothing of the Emperor *Fang*, by reason of so vast a distance. But, however, he invited all the *Chineses* to the defence of their Country, and to expell the *Tartars*; and many Captains as well as Souldiers, came to him, and even the very Western *Tartars* against whom he had ever been Arm'd, being promised great rewards, sent him the Forces which he demanded. This accident extremely troubled the Court, for they knew well that the Western *Tartars* did both aspire to the Empire of *Chin*, and also were covetous at their prosperous course of fortune, they also knew that they were more abundant in Men and Horses than they were, for from hence they brought all their best Horses, and they stated that now they should have no more, and therefore they resolved to send presently a good strong Army against him, before he should gather greater strength. But *Kiangus* who was as crafty as valiant, and one who by long experience knew how to deal with the *Tartars*, first signified to fly with his Army. But in the next

The *Tartars* infolente produced great danger.

Kiangus infleth against the *Tartars*.

Kiangus gathers great Forces.

Kiangus overthrows the
Tartars by a
stratagem.
He beats the
Tartars again.

Amavangus
himself goes
against Kian-
gus.

The Tartars
Banners.

The Tartars
delight in hunt-
ing.

he placed very many Carts and Wagons, which were all covered very carefully as if they had carried the richest Treasures they possessed, but in real truth they carried nothing but many great, and lesser, pieces of Artillery, with their mouths turned upon the Enemy: all which the *Tartars* perceiveth, prelenty purfue; they fight without any order, and fall upon the prey with great Aviditie; but those that accompanied the Wagons, firing the Artillery, took off the greatest part of the Army; and withall, Kiangus wheeling about, came up upon them, and made a strange carnage amongst them; and after this he shewed himself no lesse admirable in Stratagems than in fortitude and courage; when he fought a set pitched Field, with a new recruited Army of the *Tartars*, in which he obtained so noble, and renowned a victory, that he filled all the Court at Peking with fear and trembling; for by this means victorious Kiangus had gathered so vast an army, as he counted no lesse than a hundred and fortie thousand Horse, and four hundred thousand foot, all men having recourse to him, to defend their Country against the *Tartarian* army; and therefore Amavangus, Tutor to the Emperour, thinking it not fit to commit this businesse to any other, resolved himself to go against Kiangus, and trie the last turne of fortune for the *Tartars*; he therefore drew out all the eight Colours, that is, the whole Forces that were then in Peking; for under these eight colours are comprehended all the Forces of the Kingdom of *China*, whether they be Natives or *Tartars*; the first of which is White, called the Imperial Banner; the second is Red; the third is Black; the fourth is Yellow; and these three last are governed and commanded by the Uncle of the Emperour, but the first is immediately subiect to the Emperour; of these four colours by severall mixtures, they frame four more, so as every Souldier knows his own colours, and to what part of the City to repair, where they have ever their Arms and Horses ready for any expedition; so as in one half hour they all are ready; for they blow a Horn just in the fashion of that, which we appropriate usually to our Tritons, and by the manner of winding it, they presently know, what Companies and Captains must march, so as they are ready in a moment to follow their Ensign, which a Horse-man carries tied behind him, though commonly none but the Commander and Ensign knows whither they go: this profound secrecy in their exercise of War, has often astonished the *Chineſes*: for many times, when they thought to oppose them in one part, they presently heard they were in another Quarter: and it is no wonder they are so quick, for they never carrie with them any Baggage, nor do they take care for Provision: for they feed themselves with what they finde, yet commonly they eat Flesh, though half rosted, or half boyld; if they find none, then they devour their Horses, or Camels: but ever when they have leasure, they go a hunting all manner of wild Beasts, either by some excellent Dogs and Vultures, which they bring up for that end, or else by encompassing a whole Mountain, or large Field, they beat up all the wild Beasts into a circle, and drive them into so narrow a compassie, as that they can take as many as they please, and dismisse the rest. The earth covered with their Horse-cloth is their Bed, for they care not for Houses, and Chambers; but if they be forced to dwell in Houses, their Horses must lodge with them, and they must have many holes

holes beaten in the Walls, but yet their Tents are most beautiful, which they fix and remove with such Art and dexterity, as they never retard the speedy march of an Army. Thus the *Tartars* train their Souldiers to hardneſſe for War.

Out of all these Ensignes Amavangus chose the choicest men to accompany his person. And besides, he took part of those which he had depurated to follow the three Royalets which he dispatched to the South, ordering them to take as many out of the severall Garrisons through which they passed, as might supply this defect. But although Amavangus had so gallant, and such a flourishing Army, yet he never durst give Battail to Kiangus, lest he might seem to expoſe the whole Empire of the *Tartars* to the fortune of one Battail; So that although Kiangus did frequently offer him Battail; yet he ever refused to fight, expecting still to hear what reply the Western *Tartars* would make to his Proposition of his Nephews Marriage, for he had ſent a Legate to that *Tartarian* King with pretious gifts, as well to demand his Daughter for the Emperour of *China*, as to desire him to afford no ſuccour to the Rebel Kiangus: The precious gifts of Gold, of Silk, of Silver, and of Women, obtained whatſoever he demanded, and therefore Kiangus ſeeing himself deferten of the *Tartars*, that he might provide as well as he could for his own affairs, returned to the City *Taitung*, of which he ſoon repented himself, whea it was too late; for Amavangus calling in an innumerable number of Pezants, in the ſpace of three dayes, with an incredible diligence, caſt up a Trench of ten Leagues compasse, which he ſo fortified with Bulwarks and Ramparts, that in a trice he blocked up that City. Then did Kiangus ſee his errour in granting them leaſure to draw their Trench, which he knew would debar him from all manner of Provision. And therefore being enraged with anger, as he was a man full of metal, and a great Souldier, turning himſelf to his Souldiers, he ſaid, *If I muſt dye, I had rather dye by the Sword, than by Famine*; and upon this marched out preſently to the Enemies Trench with his whole Army. Here it was that both the parties fought moſt obſtinately, the one to ſeek his Paſſage, the other to hinder his Advance; ſo as the fortune was variouſ, and the victory doubtfull, untill an unlucky Arrow tranſpier'd Kiangus, and in him all the hope of *China* perifh'd. His Souldiers ſeeing him dead, partly ran away, and partly ſubmitted to the *Tartars*, who received them with all courteous and humanity, for they had cauſe enough of joy, to ſee they had elcaped the danger of loſing the Empire, and that they had conqueſted ſo formidable a Commander. But yet they Plundered the City *Taitung*, and burned the City of *Pacheu*, where the Church of the Christians alſo perifh'd. From hence the *Tartars* returned to Peking, where I ſaw them enter overladen with Riches and triumphant Laurels; But Amavangus purſued his journey to the Western *Tartars*; where he ratifi'd his Nephew *Xunchius* his Marriage, and brought back with him an infinite Company of Horse from the *Tartars* of the Kingdome of *Tanya*.

In the mean time, the three Royalets which went to the Southern Kingdomes, to pacifie thoſe unquiet Provinces, tooke their journey by the deſcent of the River *Guel*, and when they paſſed through that Province,

Xanchiu the
Emperour
Marries.

Amavangus
durst not fight
with Kiangus.

Kengus hangs himself.

vince, which the Emperour had given the *Tartars* to inhabit, and cultivate, after he had expelled the *Chineses* for their Rebellion, most of these Peasants, being wholly ignorant of tilling and manuring the ground, as having never been used to manage a Spade or a Plough, but their Swords; these men, I say, desired earnestly these Princes, that they might accompany them in these Wars, and in their expeditions; Two of these Princes rejected their Petitions, but the third called *Kengus* without any consent or order from the Emperour, listed them amongst his own Troops; upon which they joyfully changed their rustic instruments into weapons for war; when the Emperour heard of this proceeding, he sent word to *Kengus* to dismiss them; but he pretended various excuses, and did neglect the Emperour's orders. He therefore commanded the supreme Governour of all the Southern Quarters who resides ever at *Nanking* either to take *Kengus* alive, or cause him to be slain. He presently cast about how to compass the Emperour's command with all secrecy, & received the three Royolets with all sorts of diversions, of Comedies, Banquets, & the like pleasures, as if he had received no distastful order from the Emperour. And when the day was come that they resolved to prosecute their journey by the great River of *Kiang*, the said Governour contrived his businesse so, as he met them again in the River, and under pretence of taking his last farewell, he entertained them nobly with a Royal feast, and in a Royall Junck, which in *China* are so magnificent, as they resemble rather some gilded Palaces than floating Vessels. In this Princely Ship he entertained these Princes in all jollity and mirth, till their Army had advanced a good way before, and then he declared to *Kengus* the Emperour's order, who presently promised all submission, and to returne to *Nanking* with him, if he would only permit him to go to his Ship, which expected him in the River, to order some little affairs of his own; which being granted, he no sooner got into his Ship, but, knowing he could not avoid death by another mans hand, he chose rather to be his own executioner, and so hanged himself. Yet for all this, the supreme Governour in the Emperour's name, granted to this Mans Son the same Dignity and Province which had been conferred upon the Father, and thus the three Royolets joyning again, having passed *Nanking* and *Kiangsi*, came at length into the Province of *Quamming*, to carry on the War against the Emperour *Fungley*; and at their first entrance, they took many Cities, which durst not oppose the strength of their Armies; onely, the City of *Quangchen* resolved to try its fortune and strength.

This City of *Quangchen* is a most rich and beautiful place, environed with large waters; only the Northern Gate joynes to the Continent, on all other sides it is entrable only by boate. In this Town was the Son of the Captive *Iquan* whom I mentioned before; besides, there was a strong Garrison to defend it, and amongst others many fugitives from *Macao*, who were content to serve the Emperour *Fungley* for great stipends; and by reason the *Tartars* had neither Ships, nor skill to govern them, and that the Town had both the one and the other, it is no wonder if they endured almost a whole years Siege, having the Sea open for their relief; the *Tartars* made many assaults, in which they lost many men, and were ever beaten

beaten back, and vigorously repelled. This courage of theirs, made the *Tartars* fall upon a resolution of beating down the Town Walls, with their great Cannon, which had such effect, as in fine they took it the 24. of November MDCL, and because it was remarked that they gave to one of the Prefects of the Town, the same Office he had before, it was suspected it was delivered by Treason. The next day after, they began to Plunder The City of the City, and the luggage endured from the 24. of November till the 5. of December, in which they neither spared Man, Woman or Child; but all whosoever came in their way were cruelly put to the Sword, nor was there heard any other Speech; But, Kill, kill these barbarous Rebels; yet they spared some Artificers to conferre the necessary Arts, as also some strong and lusty men, such as they saw able to carry away the Pillage of the City; but finally the 6. day of December came out an Edict, which forbade all further vexation, after they had killed a hundred thousand men, besides all those that perished severall wayes during the Siege. After this bloody Tragedy, all the Neighbouring Provinces sent voluntarily their Legates to submit, demanding mercy, which they obtained by the many rich presents which were offered. After this the Royalet marched with his Army, against the City *Chaoing*, where the Emperour *Fungley* held his Court; but he knowing himself far inferior in Forces, and unable to resist, fled away with his whole Army and Family, leaving the City to the *Tartars* mercy. But whether this Emperour fled, is yet wholly unknown to me, for at this time I took Shipping in *Fokien* to the Philip-pines, and from thence I was commanded to go for Europe, by those whom I must not disobey. But I make no doubt, but the Emperour retired into the adjoining Province called *Quangsi*.

Now to give the Reader a little touch how the *Tartars* stand affected to Christianity; in the Metropolitan City of *Quangchen*, which (as I now related) was utterly destroyed, we had a stately Church, and there was a venerable person, who had the care and superintendency of all the Christians, whose name was *Alvarus Semedo* a Jesuit, this Man they took & tyed hand & foot for many dayes, and threatened to kill him every houre, unless he would deliver the Christians Treasures, but the poor man had no Treasure to produce; so as he suffered much, till at length the King hearing of his case, took pity of his venerable gray Heirs and comely Person, and gave him not onely his life and liberty, but a Bible, and a Breviary, together with a good summe of Money for an Almes; and finally a House to build a Church for Christians; and this is lesse to be wondred at from him, because heretofore he had been a Souldier under that famous *Sun Ig-natius*, whom I mentioned before, where he knew what belonged to Christianity, and also had seen the Jesuits in his Camp, from whence he fled to the *Tartars*. Nor is it onely this *Tartar* that favours us Christians, but in manner all the rest do love, honour, and esteem those Fathers, and many have imbraced our Religion, nor do we doubt but many more would follow their example, if we could enter *Tartary*, as now it is projecting, where doubtlesse many great things may be performed, for the reducing of that Nation to the Faith of Christ; and perchance God has opened a way to the *Tartars* to enter *China*, to give Christianity a passage into

*Corea revolted
from the Tar-
tars.*

*Amavangus
dyeth.*

into *Tartary*, which hitherto to us had been unknown and inaccessible.

About this time also they made War against the Kingdome of *Corea*, who of late years became also Tributary to the *Tartars*, upon condition that they should still conserve their Hair and Habits : but now the *Tartars* would needs constrain them to conform themselves to the *Tartarian* fashion; and therefore all that Kingdome revolted from the *Tartars*; but my departure hindred me from knowing since what has passed.

But all these glorious victories were much eclipsed, by the sorrowfull death of *Amavangus*, which happened in the begining of the year MDCL. He was a Man to whom the *Tartars* owe their Empire in *China*, and such an one as whom both *Tartars* and *Chineses* loved and feared, for his prudence, Justice, humanity, and skill in Martial affairs. The death of this Potentate did much trouble the Court, for the Brother to this Man called *Quingtus*, would needs pretend to the Government of the Empire, and of the young Emperour *Xunchius*; but both the *Tartars* & the *Chineses* resifted his claime, alledging, that, being of sixteen year old, he was able to govern the Kingdom himself; & in conformity to this opinion, all the Presidents depoſed the Ensignes of their Offices, refusing ever to receive them from any, but from the young installed Emperour *Xunchius*. To which Conſancy the King *Xinthus*, Uncle to the Emperour, prudently yeeded, leſt he ſhould exasperate the minds of many, and rafe greater troubles in the Empire.

But I cannot doubt, but the death of *Amavangus*, muſt needs endanger the *Tartarian* Empire, and bring all their affairs into great disturbance; for they will hardly find a Man ſo beloved, feared, and expert in all Military Discipline and Government as he in effect ſhewed himſelf to be; but time wil teach us, what will become of all, for ſince his death we have no certainty of any relation.

Now let us turne the thred of our diſcourse as I promiſed here above, and conſider the fortune and ſucces of the other Great Brigand, caſed *Changbiencbungus*, to let the Reader understand how the *Tartars* did invade, not onely the Mediterranean and Oriental parts, but also the Occidental Quarters of that vast Kingdome.

*Changbiencbungus a cruel
Tyrant.*

But before I begin to ſpeak of this monster of nature, I muſt ingeniouſly confeſs, I am both abuſhed, and alſo touched with a kind of horrore, to declare his villanies, both in reſpect they ſeem to exceed all belief, and therefore I may percheance be held to write Fables; as alſo because it is no grateful thing to make reſlections on ſuch Subjects; yet I may ſincereſt pro‐teſt, that I have in my hands a long relation of all his Acts, written by two Religious persons, who were then in the Province of *Suchuen* to exercise their Functions, which Country was the Theater of all his Brutalities, which I haſt relate, and becauſe I judge theſe two perſons to be of an incorrupteſt Faſhion, I judge therefore that a mortal Man might arrive to this pitch of wickedneſs and inhumane Cruelty. I therefore gathered out of that relation, what I haſt relate, which is nothing elſe but a vast Maffe of ſuch abominable Cruelty, as I doubt not even the moſt mildeſt Reader wil take the Authour to be no Man but ſome horrid wild Beast, or rather, if no more execrable name occures, ſome Devil trans-vested in our humane Nature.

This

This monster, like a wild Bear, entred into divers Provinces, filling all with Rapin, Death, Fire and Sivord, with all other imaginable miſeries: for he had a mind to deſtroy all, that ſo he might have no enemies, or leave any alive that might revolt from him, but only content himſelf with his own Souldiers; and oftentimes he ſpared not theſe. But the Province of *Suchuen*, where he usurped the Title of a King, was the chief Theater of his barbarous crueltie; for after he had affliſted and vexed the Provinces of *Huquang* and *Honan*, and part of that of *Nanking* and *Kiangſi*, he entred the Province of *Suchuen* in the year MDCXLIV. and having taken the principal Citie called *Chingtu*, in the heat of his fury he killed a King of the *Taimingian* Race, which here had eſtabliſhed his Court; as he hath done alſo to ſeven other Grandees of the fame family. Theſe were the Preludes of the Tragical A&S, whose Sences I go about briefly to deſcribe, that ſo ^{He kills divers Princes,} Europe may ſee, what a horrid and execrable thing an unbridled and armed Crueltie appears to be, when it furiously rageth in the darkneſſe of Infidelitie.

This Brigand had certain violent and ſudden motions of furious cruelty, and maxims drawn from the very bowels of vengeance it ſelf; for if he were never ſo little offendred by another, or ſuspected another to be offendred with him, he preſently commanded ſuch to be maſſacred; and having nothing in his mouth but murder and death, he often for one ſingle Mans fault deſtroyd all the Family, reſpecting neither Children, nor Wo‐men with Child, nay many times he cut off the whole Street where the offender dwelled, involving in the Slaughter, as well the innocents as no‐cents. It happened once he ſent a man poſt into the Country of *Xensi*, who being glad he was got out of the Tyrants hands, would not return; to revenge this imaginary injury, he deſtroyed all the Quarter of the Citié in which he dwelt, and thought he much bridled his fierceneſs, that he did not wholly extinguiſh all the Citié. To this I add another unhumane Act, about his hangman, whom it ſeems he loved above the reſt, because he was cruelleſt; this man dying of a diſease, he cauſed the Phyſician who had given him Phyſick to be killed; and not content with this, he Sacrificed one hundred more of that Profefſion to the Ghost of his deceased Officer.

He was affible and ſweet towards his Souldiers; he plaiſed, banquetted, and feasted with them, converſing familiarly with them; and when they had performed any Militarie Action, with honour and valour, he gave them precious gifts of Silks and Monies; but yet many times he com‐manded ſome of them to be cruelly put to death before him upon very ſmall caufe, eſpecially ſuch as were of the Province of *Suchuen* where he raigned; (whom he intirely hated, because he thought they did not rejoice in his Royal dignitie.) Inſomuch as he hardly ever did any publick Action, which though it began like a Comedie, yet had not in fine, the ſad Cataſtrophe of a Tragedie; for if, walking out, he did but eſpion a Souldier ill clad, or whole manner of Gate or walking was not ſo vigorous or Masculine as he deſired, he preſently commanded him to be killed. He once gave a Souldier a piece of Silk, who complained to his fellows of the poornesse of the piece, and being over-heard by a ſpie, (of which he had a great number) His hatred to the people of *Suchuen*.

Qq 2

who

who preſently acquainted him with what was ſaid, he preſently com‐
manded him, and this whole Legion which were of two thouſand men, to be
all Maſſacred.

He had in his Royal Citie ſome ſix hundred Prefects, or Judges, and
men belonging to the Law, ſuch as managed the principal Offices; and in
three years ſpace there was hardly twentie left, having put all the rest to ſe‐
veral deaths for very flight cauſes; He cauſed a Sergeant Major which the
Chineſes call *Pingpu*, to be fleā'd alive, for having granted leave to a *China*
Philosopher, without ſpecial order, to retire a little to his Country Houſe.
And whereas he had five hundred Eunuchs taken from the Princes of the
Taimingian Family, after he had put their Lords to death; he commanded
all theſe to be cruelly put to death; onely because one of them had preſu‐
med to ſtile him, not by the Title of a King, but by the bare name of
Changienchungus, as if he then were no Theef.

And he killed
also the Eu‐
nuchs.

Nor did he ſpare the Heathenish Priests, who ſacrificed to their Idols.
Theſe fort of men, before he came into this Country, having feignd many
crimes againſt the Priests, which preached the Faith of Chrift, had raifed
a bitter perſecution againſt them; which God of his goodneſſe diſturn fo
much to their good, as they had permission to teach and preach publickly
the Law of Chrift. But after this Tyrant came into the Country, the
chief of theſe Heathenish Priests was apprehended for ſome words let fall
againſt him, and in the preſence of the Fathers, who by accident were then
at audience with the Tyrant, he was beheaded; And although they had
learned of Chrift to do good for evill, yet knowing the phrenetical anger
and fury of this monſter, who uſed to puniſh thoſe that interceded, with
the punishment of the offender, they durft not make any motion for the
leafe favour. It is true, this cruel Beauft loved theſe Fathers, and would often
converte with them, whom he experienced wife and learned, and he
would often call them to the Palace to entertain him in diſcourse; but they
knowing well his precipitous anger, went ever prepared for, and expe‐
cting death; and indeed they were thrice depuited to death; and a fourth time
eſcaped alſo by Gods particular proviſion, as we ſhall relate in time and
place. But he was not contented with the death of one of theſe ſame He‐
theniſh Priests, but having got together about twentie thouſand of theſe ſame
profefſion, he ſent them all to hell, to viſit their Masters whom they
had ſerved. And then he would applaud himſelf, as if he had done a ve‐
ry Heroical Action, ſaying to them, *These men would have taken away your
lives; but Thiencheu, ſo they call God, which ſignifies the Lord of Heaven,
has ſent me to revenge your caufe, & inflict due punishment upon theſe wreches.*
He would often conſer alſo with the Fathers of Christian Religion, and
that ſo properly, as a man would take him for a Christian. He praifeſed, and
highly extolled the Religion of Christians, which he well understood,
partly by the conferences which he frequently had with the Fathers, and
partly by reading their books, which for the Inſtruction of Christians they
had writ in the *China* language, & hath often promiſed to build a Church
to the God of Christians, worthy of his magniſcence, when he once came
to be Emperor of *China*; and indeed all the works he erected were very
to be Emperour of *China*; and indeed all the works he erected were very
splendid and magnificent; but he polluted them all with the blood of the
Workmen;

For one mans
fault he kills
twenty thou‐
ſand.

Workmen; for if he found they had but committed the leaſt error, or the
leaſt imperfection, he preſently put them to death upon the place.

On the North part of the Country of *Sachuen*, where it confines with
the Province of *Xensi*, lies the ſtrong City called *Nanchung*, which though
it be ſeated in the County of *Xensi*, yet in reſpect, it is both fo ſtrong and
of fo great an extent, it is held to be the Key of both the two Provinces.
The Tyrant endeavoured by all induſtry to make himſelf Master of this
important place, as being a convenient paſſage to the reſt; wherefore in
the year MDCXLV. he levied a vast Army, conſiſting of one hundred
and fourſcore thouſand men, all Natives of the County of *Sachuen*, be‐
ſides thoſe of his own, which had alwaies followed him. He ſent before
this numerous Army, which besieged the Town a long time, but found ſo
rigorous reſiſtance, that they began to be weary, and about fourtie thou‐
ſand of thoſe Soulſiers of *Sachuen* revolted to the Prefects which governed
the be-leagured Cities by which means the Army was constrained to
return to the Tyrant, without any memorable Action: and he being enra‐
ged with anger to ſee them retire, commanded all the reſt of the Soulſiers
of the Province of *Sachuen*, (which were in number one hundred and four‐
tie thouſand,) to be all maſſacred by the reſt of the Army. This horribile
Butchery laſted four daies; in which slaughter he commanded many of
them to have their ſkins pulled off, which he filling with straw, and ſowing
on the head, commanded to be carried publickly and viſibly into the
Towns where they were born, ſo to ſtrike more terror into the hearts of
the inhabitants; and after all this, yet he had ſuch a malitious hatred againſt
this Country, that he never ceaſed to vex and torment it, even when it was
in a manner leſt deſolate. Many unexpert persons, without head or guide,
did take Arms againſt him, but he quickly diſperſed them, being wholly
unexpereinced in Military Discipline; others that were wiser, leaving the
City, retired into the Mountains, which were in a manner the onely men
who eſcaped his fury.

After this he caled all the Students of the Country to be examined
for their degrees, promising to give thoſe honours, to whomver ſhould
deserve them beſt, and the *Chineſes* are ſo bewitched with the deſire of
theſe dignities, that they did not conceiue the perfidious Stratagem of
the Tyrant. There appeared therefore in the publick Hall depuited for
that Ceremony about eighteen thouſand persons, all which he com‐
manded his Soulſiers to maſſacre moſt barbarouſly, ſaying; Theſe were the
people who by their cavilling ſophiſms, folliocited the people to rebeſſions.

I have a horrore to relate to many unhumane slaughters, and yet I fee
my ſelf over-whelmed with new ones; for what an addition is it to all his
related barbarities, to tell you, That he never ſpared Children, Boys, nor
Girls, no nor Miftrons with Child, and ready to lyē down? what an excels
of all inhumanity to take the Prefects Wives, when their Husbands were
condemned, but yet alive, and to expofe theſe Women to all kind of vil‐
lanies, and then to kill them. This was fo reſented by many; as they
rather chose to kill theſelvſes, than to undergo ſo infamous and publick
an opprobriy to their honesty. I forbear to relate more of ſuch detestable
and execrable examples, let I offend the ears and minds of the Reader by
ſuch abominations.

He kills the
Children and
Miftrons.

Let

He endeavours
to take Han‐
chung.

He kills
140000 men
moſt cruelly.

Students.

Let us therefore supprese these impurities, and passe to what happened in the year MDCXLVI. when the *Tartars* entred into the Province of *Xensi* to give him Battail, so as he was forced to go out to meet them. And, to the end he might leave the Country behind him with more security, he resolved to cut off all the inhabitants, (except those which inhabited the North-East Quarters by which he was to passe, and therefore must needs referre these Creatures to affist and furnish his Army with all necessaries; and therefore he deferred their death to another time.) First therefore he commanded all the Citizens of what quality or condition soever, that did inhabit his Metropolitan City of *Chingtu* to be bound hand and foot, which was done by a part of the Army, which he had called in; and then riding about them, (which vast multitude is related to have been above six hundred thousand Souls,) he viewed them all with lesse compassionthan the cruellest Tygre would have done; whilst in the mean time, these poor victims with lamentable crys, which penetrated the very vault of Heaven, and might have moved a heart composed of stone or Rock, holding up their hands, begged of this outragious Tyrant to spare the lives of his innocent people. He stood a while Pensive, like an affronted and amazed Creature, so as it seemed to be an imperfect Crisis, wherein humanc nature struggled a little with those bowels, and that heart which was composed of all cruelty, but presently returning to his beastly nature, Kill, kill, saith he, and cut off all these Rebels, upon which words, they were all massacred in one day out of the City Wals, in the presence of this bloody monster. Those Religious persons, which were there, the Fathers of Christianity, resolved to make their addresses for the Tyrant to save their converts lives; and though all men judged it a desperate attempt, yet they obtained the lives of those they claimed. So as they distributed themselves at the City Gates, and as their Clients passed bound to the Shambles, they mercifully unbound their Shakles, and rescued them from death. By which occasion also they performed another acceptable Sacrifice to God, in Baptizing an infinite number of Children, which the Souldiers willingly permitted, so as the horrid and execrable cruelty of this Tyrant proved as advantagious to these little Angels, as Herods slaughter did to the Bleffed Innocent.

Many Children Baptized.

They write, that in this massacre there was so much blood spilt, as made the great River of *Kiang*, which runs by the City, to increase and swell visibly; and the dead Corps being cast into the River, and carried downwards to the other Cities, did denounce unto them, that they were to expect no better Treaty from this Tyrants hands. And it quickly proved true, for he dispatched his Army to the rest of the Cities, and killed all that he could lay hands on; and thus this Tyrant did bring that populous Province of *Szechuan* into a vast wildernes. After this, he mustered all his Souldiers in a Field, which in every City of *China* is deputed for that end, and is called by the Natives *Kioochang*; in this place, he delivered himself thus unto them, I hope by your valour to obtain the Empire of the world, when I have expelled the *Tartars*, but I desire to see you yet quicker and nimbler than hitherto you have been; you all know, to free you from all burdens and heavy luggage; how I sunk threescore Ships full of Silver in the River of

He kill 60000
in the City
Chingtu.

of *Kiang*, which I can easily recover, to reward your pains, and merits, when I shall once have obtained the Empire; (he had indeed sunk the Ships, and killed the Ship men, to conceal the place;) but there remaines yet a greater encumbrance, which regards much our journey, and all our enterprises, which is your Wives, which are a heavy burden to you all. Therefore now put on a generous resolution; There will not be wanting other exquist Women, when we are come to posseſſe the Empire, and although us Emperors I ought to have some Prerogative, and make a difference betwixt you and my Royall person, yet I am content in this, to give you all a leading example, which may serve as a President. After this Speech, of three hundred handsome and beautiful Maids, which he kept for his voluptuous pleasures, he onely reserved twenty to serve his three Queens, and commanded all the rest to be killed upon the place. The Souldiers presently followed the example and command of their cruel Tyrant, and cut off the heads of innumerable innocent Women, as if they had been their mortal enemies.

Having now no more men in the Province of *Szechuan* to put to death, he turned his fury and hatred against the Cities, Houses and Palaces: for whereas he had built himself a very stately and magnificent Palace in the City of *Chingtu*, he confiurned that, and with it, a great part of that noble City with fire; besides he cut down all Trees and Woods, that they might profit no man. And thus (as he said) having purged his Army, he march'd on into the Province of *Xensi* to meet the *Tartars*, but as he march'd, if he found any man remaining alive, he commanded him to be killed. And not content with all this, if he espied any Souldier which march'd either too far before, or too far behind, though the fault were never so little, he killed him prently. He killed all his sick or weak Souldiers, that they might be delivered (as he said) out of so miserable and ruined a Country. I supprese many more passages of his cruelty, because I will hasten to the Catastrophe of this Tragedy.

He was no sooner entred into the Province of *Xensi*, but one of the Emperours Uncles meets him with five thousand *Tartars*, the Body of the Army marching after him; five Horsemen are sent out before the Army (as usually they do amongst the *Tartars*;) who if they be well received of the enemy, they take it as a sign of Peace and submission; but if they receive any Act of hostility, then the Army marcheth up to fight. These Horsemen were espied by the Tyrants Scouts, who presently brought him Tydings of their approach. But he laugh'd at the news, and jestingly asked them, If the *Tartars* had learned to fly. He drove at that time, many persons bound before him, which he intended to massacre, and amongst the rest two of the Jesuits, for asking leave to retурne into *Szechuan*, which was the Country they had undertaken to convert to Christianity. But the suddain death of this Arch-brigand delivered them all from the imminent danger, for at the same time came in his chief Commanders, assuring him the *Tartar* was upon him, upon which news, he being of a bold and courageous humour, burst out of his Tent, and without either head-piece or brest-Plate, snatched up a Lance, and went out with a few, to view the enemy. The forelaid five *Tartars* presently assaulted the Tyrant, and the first Arrow was shot, (happy

He burned his
Palace in the
City of *Ching-*

The Tyrant is (happy to the *Tartars*, and many others,) pierced the heart of that monster of Cruelty, killing that Man, who had an intention to make an end of all Men; and who from the base condition of a rascally Theef, presumed to take the Sacred Title of King and Emperour. The head being down, the *Tartars* easily seized on the body of his Army; many of the Souldiers submitted to them, others were killed, others ran away; and the poor inhabitants of the Province of *Szechuen* received the *Tartars* as their Saviours. By which means this Province which is the most Western in *China*, and borders upon the Kingdome of *Tibet*, became subject to the *Tartarian Empire*.

When they had established Garrisons, and all their other Affairs in that Country, they prepared to returne to the Royall City of *Peking*, leading with them the two Captive Priests, which they had found in Chains, as a present most acceptable to the *Tartarian Emperour*; there I saw them, and left them in great veneration and honour in the year MDCL.

One of the Emperours Uncles is ill received.
He hangs him self.

But this victorious Conquerour returning crowned with Laurels, was ill received and worse recompensed, by his Brother the great *Amarangus*, (who was the Emperours Tutor;) and in stead of a deserved triumph, he received an unworthy death; for being to make a march of many Months, to undergo much labour, and many troubles, it happened so, that he lost more Men in marching than in fighting; upon which he was accused of great negligence in governing his Army, and being of a generous nature, he thought he deserved high praise, but no blame, and therefore he took his *Tartarian Cap*, and scornfully trampled it upon the ground, (which is the greatest sign of indignation, which they can expresse;) upon which fact he was committed to a Prison proper to those of the blood Royall which he accused of any Crime. But he scorned to be the first of the *Tartarian Family*, which should suffer this opprobry in *China*; and therefore before he was carried to this Prison called by the *Chinese Coaching*, he hung himself miserably in his own Palace. A Gallant Prince, and worthy of a better fortune. Many think this disgrace to have grown from *Amarangus* his eldest Brothers emulation; but I think that *Amarangus* was afraid that this Man, though wanting no courage, yet of a precipitit nature, would quickly ruin the *Tartarian affairs*, by his rash proceedings. And here I will put a period to this brief Narration of the *Tartars War* to the year MDCLI. in which year I was sent to *Europe*, by those that may command me. In which relation if there be nothing else worthy of admiration, yet it seems wonderfull to consider, that in seven years space they conquered more ground, than an entire Army could have walked through in the whole length & breadth thereof in that space of time; for they over-ran the twelve vast Provinces of *China*, besides the immense extents of *Leaoning*, and the Kingdom of *Corea*.

What since has past, in such vicissitude of fortune, I know not; but as soon as God shall blesse me with a prosperous returne into my beloved *China*; or that my friends acquaint me with any new Occurrences by Letters, I will procure that all *Europe* shall understand the issue of these prodigious revolutions.

FINIS.



An Addition to the former History, taken out of the last Letters from *China*

Written in the years 1651. 52. and 53.



After the Printing of this our History of the *Tartarian Wars*, returning to *Brussels* from *Amsterdam* (where I used all possible expedition to bring my *Atlas Sinicus* to the Preffe) I there received my long desired Letters from *China*, sent by my friends from *Rome*; some of which being dated the 14. of November 1651, were writ by a *Sicilian*, called Father *Francis Brancatus*, who sojourns in the City of *Xanchai*, in the Province of *Nanking*; and reflecting, that happily it would not be ungratefull to our *Europeans*, if I made a private relation, of publick use; I resolved to draw out this little ensuing Narration from those Letters written in severall years.

The Empire of *China* is now grown to a more fixed and settled Estate, since the death of *Amarangus* Uncle to the Emperour: to whose expeditiōn in invading that Empire and Vigilance in conserving it, the *Tartars* owe their happy successe.

But yet, the opinion framed of him after his death, was far different from the authority and power he carried in his life; for no sooner was the exercice of governing by his death devolved into the hands of his Nephew, called *Xunchi*; but that this Emperour, though a youth in years, began his reign by the approbation of all estates and orders, with such maturity of judgement, and counsel, as he seemed to surpass the gray and hoary heads of his wifest Counsellors. He was no sooner enthroned, then he expressed a strange ripeness of judgement, and severity of Justice joyned together; for having discovered his Uncles wicked counsells and designs, and traced the obscure track of his abominable vices, which were hid during his life: he did so much resent those detestable Actions, as he commanded his body to be digged up, and his magnificent Sepulchre to be beaten down; which kind of punishment amongst the *Chinese* is held to be the greatest that can be inflicted; being taught by their Religion, to carry all veneration and respect to the tombs of dead persons. The Carcase being dragged out, they first beat it with Clubs, then they scourged it with Rods; and finally cutting off the head, they made it a spectacle to all criminal opprobies. Thus the splendour of his Tomb, was brought to dust; and fortune paid him after his death, the disgrace he owed him in his life.

He
R r

He punished also all the Officers and Prefects, which were privie to his counsels; putting some to death, and depriving others of their dignities. Amongst all which I find the fortune of General *Fung* to have been very various: who though he be no Christian, yet being a singular friend, and protector of our society, and particularly known to my self, I cannot but rejoice to hear him restored, to his place and dignity, after his discovered innocence. In the meantime the Emperour *Xunchius*, growing up to mans estate, and solicitous to propagate his honour to his posterity, resolved to accomplish his long intended Marriage with the Daughter to the Emperour of the Occidental *Tartars*: In which action, the *Tartars* imitate the European custom, for they take a Lady of some like illustrious blood or descent; But the Emperours of *China* seem little to value the nobility of blood, but select the prettiest beauty; nor will they refuse a person of a mean fortune, if she be but graced with beauty; In so much, as the Wife to the late Emperour of *China*, was Daughter to a man, that got his living by making straw Shoos. So King *Ahafurus* raised a poor Captive maid to be Consort with him in his Royal Throne: which kind of custom happily the *Chineses* drew from the *Persians*, or the *Persians* from them. But to return to the subject that caused this little digression. The Emperours Wedding was performed with a Pomp and Splendor proportionable to such an Empire: nor was there any magnificence wanting on the Spouses part; for according to the fashion of the Nation, she came accompanied with whole Armies of men, and so many Troops of Horse, as they seemed innumerable, nature seeming to have framed the riches of the *Tartars* more for warlike affairs, than for pleasure. Nor is this infinit multitude of Horse incredible, for I my self have seen eighty thousand Horse, all at one time, sent as a present from the Occidental *Tartars* to the King of *China*.

Which boundlefe power of the *Tartars*, as it cannot be contained within any limits, so also it hath lately broke out into the Province of *Quam-tung*, which they have wholly subdued; and out of that, like an impetuous Torrent, they ran into the Province of *Quangsi*; which they likewise have conquered to their Empire. So as the King of *China* called *Fungley*, with his chief favourit the Eunuch, called *Pang Achileus*, who profesteth Christianity, were feign to fly to the Confines of *Tunking*, being in a manner excluded the whole Empire. In so much as a friend of mine writes out of the Province of *Fokien*, that the King *Fungley* fearing to fall into the *Tartars* hands, was feign to leave the Land, and fly to Sea. Neither have we any news of our Father *Andrew Xaverius Koffler* who followed the Court of King *Fungley*, having had the happiness to have Baptized his Queen, his Sonne, and his Mother, with many others of that Court.

In the mean time, whilst one *Cung*, a Royolet amongst the *Tartars*, subdued the Province of *Quangsi*, the *Colau*, who was Governoour of the Country, and a Christian, fell into the Enemies hands; and the *Tartars*, hoping by rewards and promises of dignities, to win the submision of this so gallant a man, and so eminent a Philosopher, abstained three daies from any cruelty, or ill usage toward him; But he scorned to prefer his life before his allegiance and fidelity to his King; and therefore lost his head.

But

But yet, this generous Action was admired and honoured by those brutish Souls, who presently erected a magnificent Tomb, in memory of so honourable an A&E; for although the *Tartars* sollicit the *Chineses* to revolt from their Prince, yet they honour and praise such as shew themselves constant to him: And this memorial of him, I owe as well to the singular friendship he was pleased to contract with me, as also to his eminent vertues, of which I my self & the whole Church of Christians in *China*, were both Spectators and Admirers, for the space of twenty years. He was Born in the Province of *Nanquin*, in the City *Changcho*, being called *Kiu Thomas*, a Name most worthy of eternal Memory.

During the laccage of these Provinces, news arrives from the Country of *Suchuen*, (which the notorious Brigand called *Changhienchangus*, famous for his strange cruelty and abominable villanies, had so wasted,) that it begins again to be shaken with severall tempests of War; & though he seemed to be quite destroyed in the last Battails, yet from thence doth appear again new trouble and vexation to the Empire.

The Province of *Fokien* also begins to groane under the same miserable condition of War, for the Reverend Father *Peter Canevary* Native of *Genua*, writes out of the City *Changchen*, which was besieged the 30. of *March* 1652. that *Quesingus*, having made a descent from his Ships into that Province, hath overrun the whole Country, taken some Cities and Towns, and carried on the War with great treour to the Inhabitants. Infomuch as the *Tartarian* Commanders keepe themselves, and their Army in their Forts, and other places of strength, not daring to appear in the field to oppope him; but yet he said they expected new Forces and Succours from *Peking*; by which they doubt not, but quickly to subdue him.

This *Quesingus*, who now vexeth this Province of *Fokien*, is Son to the famous Pyrate *Iquon* or *Chincibungo* whom the *Tartars* imprisoned by a flight, as I recounted to you in my former History.

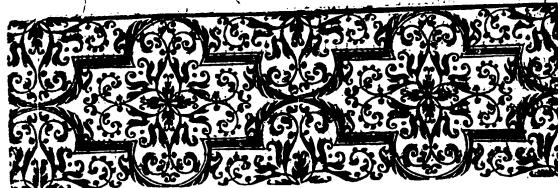
And to let you know what I further heard from some passengers of *Chi-na*, who in the month of *January* 1653, were cast, in a Ship of *China*, upon the Coasts of an Island called *New Holland*, whither I had been brought before by their Barks, and Souldiers, as their Prisoner. These men related that a great Army of *Tartars* was arrived, to subdue *Quesingus*; whose Commander thought it fit to joyn Art to his Forces; and therefore he commanded a handfull of men, to charge the *Chinese* Army, and presently by feigning flight, to retire to more advantageous and lurer places. In the mean time, he had placed a number of Horse in a deep valley behind a Mountain, towards which Quarters the fugitive Troops retired. This flight gave courage to the *Chineses*, and the desire of victory, made them venture so far from the River *Chang*, where their ships lay at Anchor, as they found themselves environed by the *Tartars* Army. This desperate condition which excluded the *Chineses*, from returning to their Ships, caused a very great, and bloody slaughter, in which there perished above 80000 of the *Chinese* Army; whilst *Quesingus* a spectator of this sad accident from the Mast of his Ships, as they relate, was heard to say, that he would once more try his fortune against the *Tartars*; but if he proved again adverse unto him, he then would submit, and shave his Hair, like a *Tatar*.

Concerning

Concerning the present state of Christian Religion, being at Brussels this last June, in the year 1654. I received letters from China; in which they gave me notice, that the Father Jesuits, were very favourably treated by the Tartars; yea better than before; that they permit free exercise of the Christian Catholick Religion, through all their Kingdoms, granting them leave not only to enjoy their ancient Churches, but also liberally contributing to build new ones; so, by the goodness of God, that which endamaged others, proveth gain to them. But I reserve all particulars to a larger Relation in a greater Volume, which shall continue Trigantius his History of the missions dispatched into China, concluding with the year 1610, to these our present Times.

FINIS.

Books



Books printed for, and to be sold by John Crook at the sign of the Ship in St Pauls Church-yard.

A nnales Veteris Testamenti, à primâ Mundi Origine deduci, una cum rerum Asiaticarum & Agyptiacarum Chronicis, A tempore Historici principio usque ad Macabaeicarum initia producta: A Viro Reverendissimo, & Doctissimo Jacobo Ufficio Archiepiscopo Armachano.

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The Spirituall Nursery decyphered, in a Sermon Preached at Mercers Chapel in London, Febr. 9. 1650. By Thomas Baker late Rector of St Mary the More in Exon.

Seven Sermons, Preached upon severall Occasions, by the most Reverend and Learned Father in God, William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. heretofore Printed severally, but now gathered together, and re-printed. 12°. Loci Communes D. Martini Lutheri ex Scriptis ipsius Latinis, forma Grammatica, & Aphoristica collecti & in quinque classes distributi. M.

M. Theodosio Fabritio Ecclesiæ Gottingensis Pastore, Quarto.
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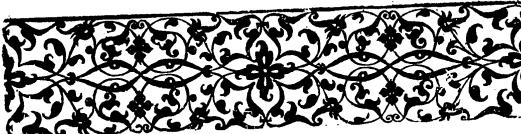
With an exact Account of the other affaers of CHINA,
till these present Times.

London,
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Sign of the Ship in S. Pauls Church-yard, 1655.

Ch 62.2F*



H. J. Bradley



The Epistle to the Reader.

Courteous Reader,



Present thee with that long expected, most exact History of the Lawes, Government, Manners, and present state and condition of that great Monarchy of China, in its circuit little less then all Europe; Heretofore (as zealous of its rare treasures) but and locked up from the curios eyes of strangers: so that this booke (first) yeilds to thee a full discovery thereof. (Idare say) the most valuable, that this our world hath been acquainted with, since that of America; whereby now the furthest East, as well as West, is disclosed, and laid open to the present age. For, as for some former relations, thou mayst have seen thereof, thou wilt by this discerne them to be as fabulous, as they are compendious and imperfect.

It was written by one, who, after first, a strict education in all sorts of learning, for two and twenty yeares space lived in that Kingdome, was resident at the Court, and in the greatest Cities thereof: and in all that time

To the Reader.

(as designing such a worke) was a diligent Observator and Collector of all their manners and customs ; as likewise (after much paines taken in the Language) a great student of their Histories, and Writings. Whose laborious worke, after it had already bin clothed in many other Languages, besides the Authors, and welcomly entertained in most states of Europe, it was thought fit no longer to be concealed to a Nation, either for curiositie of knowledge, or industry of forraigne commerce, now yeilding to her neighbours.

The variety of the subjects handled therein is so great (as comprehending the whole fabricke of that nation; their Politicks, Oeconomics, Sciences, Mechanicks, Riches, Merchandise, &c.) that those of whatsoever profession may reap no small benefit in reading the designs, managements and practices therein, of so ingenious a People. Whose manners also (as their site) are so remote and different in most things from ours, that (I may say) in this piece is happily united, with the truth of History, the delight of a Romance : where it will be no small pleasure to thee to see their braines, as well as their bodies, as it were of a severall mould from the Europeans, and their inventions in many things, to walke antipodes to us, and yet in these no way below us, but in many superiour, or what in them appears les compleat, yet will the knowledge thereof not be ungratefull unto thee, because tis new and singular. As for many morall vertues, thou wilt find them so far to transcend us therein, that they may be proposed as an excellent patterne, (as also they are a shame) to Christian states. Lastly, to correct and reforme any their defects, and make

To the Reader.

make the nation perfectly happy, the light of Christianity hath of late visited this people, who sate in darknes : so that now (after America also enlightened) there is no end of the world left, wherinto the sound of the Gospel is not gone forth. The foundation of which being (there) already laid, there is great hopes that it may sooner come to a ful purity, reformation & perfection, & the indefatigable pains & undaunted courage of those labours who cultivate it in the East, provoke a greater diligence and emulation therein, in our planters in the West, where the Gospel (as following a conquest) may be advanced both with much more safety and authority.

To the end of this Treatise, I have added the History of the Tartarian invasion of China, much enlarged & freed from divers Erratas of the former Edition; which gives thee an account of the Chinesse affaires till the yeare 1653. (Reader, thus much I thought good to advyrtise thee in the front of this Booke, that thou mayst not be so great an hinderance to thy selfe, as not to be acquainted with so curious and beneficiale a discourse. Farewell)

The

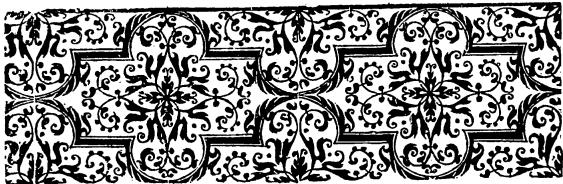
The Preface.

of the Religious of the Company of *Jesu*; who although they came late to the Culture of the Church, are, notwithstanding, arrived to that honour to be reckoned among the first, that after Saint Thomas the Apostle, did cultivate those remote Confines of the world.

It is now fifty eight years, that they have laboured under this so distant Climate, where directing all their force and endeavours, to the conversion of Souls, they account it a manifest Theft, to employ any otherwife that time which they owe to the Service of God, and is of so much importance for the Eternall Salvation of men. Hence it is, that never any yet did, or would it have been permitted him, if he had desired it, to employ himselfe in writing the Relation of this Kingdome; except it were Father *Nicolaus Trigalzius*, after he had by permission with-drawn himself from the culture of Christianity among the *Chineſes*, and passed from thence into Europe.

Vpon the same occasion I have undertaken to give a briefe account thereof, sufficient at least for the instruction of those, who desire to be informed concerning those parts: forbearing to make a more large discourse at the present; but reserving it for another time; which may be, when wee shall returne to that vast Country, with new Labourers in so great a number, that some of the greatest Authority and Experience among us, may find leisure and convenience to undertake a perfect Relation.

In the mean time, abbreviating, as much as tis possible, this Information, without rendring that knowledge confus'd, which wee pretend to gratify the world with, we shall divide the work into two parts. The first containeth the materiall part of the Kingdome; that is, the Provinces, Land, and Fruits; and in a manner, the formal part too; that is, the people, their learning, and customes. The second, the Beginning of Christianity there, the progresse thereof, the persecutions suffered therein; and finally the condition, wherein I left it, at my departure thence. I hope this worke shall gain some esteem and credit, if not for the greatness of the Appearance, at least for the certainty of the reality of it; having taken



The Preface.



Ho writeth of things farre remote, doth almost alwayes incurre the inconvenience of many, and those no small defects: hence it is, that we see many Books, whose Authours, for their personal Qualities, might deserve more credit than may justly be given to their writings. As forthoſe, who have written of *China*, I have perufed ſome of them, who leaving in oblivion almost all Truths, take the liberty to wander in diſcourses altogether fabulous: for this Kingdome being ſo remote, and having alwayes with much Care avoided all Communication with Strangers, reſerving onely to themſelvſ the knowledge of their own Affairs, with a moſt partiſular Caution: hence it followes, that nothing is knownne without the Confines thereof, but what doth, as it were, overflow into the skirts of the Country of *Cantone*, (a part of this Empire, whither the Portugueſes have been ſuffered to come) ſo that the moſt internall and ſecret knowledge thereof hath been referred, either for the Natiues of the Country, who know well enough how to conceale it; or for thoſe, who, upon a better Motive, have, to diſcover it, little leſſe then forgotten their own nature, their language, their cuſtomes, and manner of living, and tranſformed themſelvſ into the naturall humour of that Country.

Now this laſt hath by divine diſpensation, fallen to the lot of

The Preface.

taken what I write, from the infallible Testimony of mine eyes; which though they may not be of the quickest sighted, yet have had the advantage to reiterate very often their speculations. And if he which vieweth for a long time, although his sight be not of the best, doth commonly see more, then he who looketh in haste, by his eyes never so good: I, who, for the space of two and twenty years, have had the opportunity to observe all Passages of *China*, have certainly seen so much what I write, and what others have written, who have not seen them so well, that I must necessarily speak of them with more Certainty then they, although with less Eloquence.

THE

The Table of all the Chapters contained in the first part of the History of *China*.

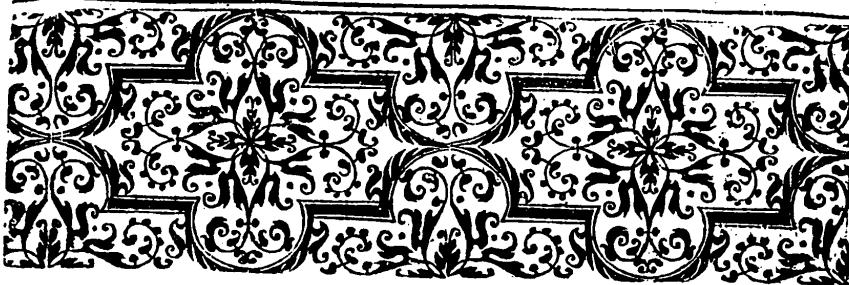
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(A)

An Exact MAPP of CHINA, being faithfully Copied from one
brought from Peking by a Father Lately resident in that City.

1655





THE FIRST PART Of the Temporall State of CHINA.

C H A P . I.

Of the Kingdom in Generall.



Hina in its extent is one great continued Continent, without having any thing which devides it: and taking it from the latitude of Haynam (which is not farre distant from the Continent, and lyeth in nineteen degrees) it extends it self twenty four degrees, inclining towards the East; and ending in fourty three degrees, it comes to make a circuite so much the more spacious, by how much the coasts thereof run along in various and un-equall windings; and so comes to be the

chiefest kingdome of the world in greatnesse, and almost equall to all Europe. On the west side thereof are many small Islands, but so neere together, that they seem all to Compose but, as it were, one body.

All this Monarchy is divided into fifteen Provinces; each of which is a spacious Kingdome, and so they were all anciently; each having a King of its own. Of those nine, which they call the Southern Provinces, the greatest part of them are watered with large rivers, and some of those, having so great plenty of water, that in many places the opposite banks are out of sight, one of the other; and elsewhere, that which appeareth, is hardly to be distinguished what it is. They are all navigable, and are frequented with so a great concourse of divers sorts of vessels, that what might be said upon this occasion, will hardly seem credible: I shall onely

say, that in this, they do exceed all other rivers of the world. In an Arme of the river of *Nanchim*, which with a moderate breadth runneth down to *Hamchen*, I stayed eight dayes for a passage through that vvonderful conourse of vessels : and while an houre-glaſſe of sand was running out, I counted three hundred small ſhips, reckoning only those which came up the river. It is a marvellous thing, there being ſo many, that all are ſo well accommodated for Merchandize, and ſo convenient for paſſengers; They are all covered and kept very neat, and ſome of them ſo beautified and adorned with pictures, that they feem rather made for the recreation, than the traffick of Merchants.

The manner, after which they are governd is very notable : for the Mariners keep all without the place, where the paſſengers make their abode, there being ſpace enough without for them to run up and down, that trim the Sayles and guide the Bark, without any diſturbance of the others, who enjoy a pleafant eaſe and reſt. In which the Barkes of the prouince of *Hance* exceed the reſt.

The ſix Northern provinces, as they come neareſt to our latitude, do moft reſemble our climate, and are more dry and healthfull than the reſt. But in all of them (more or leſſe) there are not wanting many of a long and happy life ; there being to be found many, and very vigorous and lufthy old men.

Of the ſame more particularly.

This Kingdom is ſo populous, that not only the Villages, but even the Cities are in ſight one of another, and in ſome places, where the rivers are moft frequented, the habitations are moft continued. Of theſe there are four ſorts; great Cities which they call *Fu*: the leſſer, which they call *Cen*; (concerning theſe, Writers have ſomewhat diſſered in their Relaſtions;) Townes, which they call *Hien*; and Castles, which they call *Cid*. Besideſe theſe, there are Villages and Hamlets almoſt innumerable. Of all theſe the Walls are kept night and day with a four-fold Guard at the ſound of a Bell, even to the innermost City of the Kingdom, as if they were alwayes in a condition of Warre: ſhewing, that to prevent the leaſt imaginable danger, which may fal out in an houre; it is good to ſtand during life, upon our guard : for ordinarily all ſudden ruines proceed from a long confidence. The ſtreets are kept by Courts of Guard and ſentinels, with ſo much rigour, that if they find them aſleep, or ſtrangled from their Poſt, or that they do not ſpeedily anſwer, they are preſently condemned to the *Bafinado*, which is immediately executed in the ſame place. The publick gates are ſhut every night with great care, and if there fal out any accident, they are not opened, til they are aſſeſed, how the Fact was done. In the year one thouſand fix hundred thirty four, I was in the City of *Kiansh*, where thirty theives broke paſtron, and having rousted the guards, wounding ſome and killing others, fet themſelues at liberty. The Fact was known, and the opening of the gates being luſped according to their inviolable cuſtome, before next night the Malefactors were all taken, nor could the greatnesse of the City hide any one of them.

This

This Kingdom is ſo exceeding populous, that I having lived there two and twenty years, was in no leſſe amazement at my coming away, than I was in the beginning, at the multitude of the people: certainly, the truth exceedeth all Hyperboles, not onely in the Cities, Townes, and publick places (in forme of which one cannot walk without great violence of thrusting and crowding,) but also in the High-wayes, there is as great a conourse, as is tually in Europe at ſome great feaſtiall, or publick meeting. And if we will referre our ſelves to the general register book, wherein only the common men are enrolled and matriculated, leaving out women, children, eunuchs, profeſſours of armes and letters, (almoſt an infinite number) there are reckoned of them to be fifty eight millions, and fifty five thouſand, one hundred and foureſcore.

The houses, where they inhabit, are not ſo sumptuous and laſting, as ours: yet are they more convenient for the good contrivance, and more pleauant for their exquifeitneſſe. They uſe muſh in their houses *Charam*, an excellent verniſh, and painting of an accurate diligence. They build them not very high, eſteeming them more convenient for being low, as well for habitation, as for good accommodation. The richer ſort of people doe plant the courts and approaches to their houses with flowres and ſmall trees; and, towards the North, they uſe fruit trees. In like manner, where they haue roome enough, they ſet greater trees, and raife artificiaſl mountaines, to which end they bring from farre, great pieces of rocks: They keep there ſeverall ſorts of fowl; as Cranes and Swannes, and other beauiful birds: and alſo wild beaſts, as Stagges, and fallow Deare. They make many fish ponds, where are to be ſeen gliding up and downe painted fish with gilded finnes, and other things likewife of curioſitie and delight.

Their way of building is in this manner. They frame firſt exactly the rooſe of the house, which they ſet upon pillars of wood, the which by how much the bigger they are, are ſo much the more eſteemed: after they fit up the walls with brick, or ſome ſuſh like matter. There is a Tradition, that, anciellty, they made their buildings according to exact rules of meaſure and proportion; of which Art there are yet ſome bookeſ remaining; but thoſe rules are now only obſerved in the Kings palaces, and in publick workes; as, towres of Cities and Townes, which they make of ſeverall formes; as round, ſquare, octangular; very beauiful, with ſtaires, ſome winding, ſome plaine, and Balanſters on the outſide.

In the veſſels and ueniſeles of their house they are both very curiouſ and expenſive; uſing muſh the aboveſaid *Charam*, a ſort of verniſh, which is taken from certayne trees, proper only to that, and the neighebouring Countries: and in truthe it is an excellent thing, as well for the perfection of the matter, (as may be ſeen in the workes which come from thence) as for the easineſſe in working it, as well in making new things, as in rettrimming the old, and reducing them to their former beauty.

As for plenty, whereas this kingdome, by reaſon of its large extent, doth partake of diuerſe latitudes and climates, it produceth and enjoyeth ſo great varietie of fruits, that nature ſeems there to haue laid upon heapes, what ſhee but ſcatters through the reſt of the world. It hath

within

within its owne doores all that is necessary for mans life, together with all superfluity of delicacies : whence it hath, not only no need to take almes of other Countries; but, with what it is able to spare, (which is both much and very good) it satisfieth the desires of the neighbouring and remote kingdomes, who have always a longing desire to see and enjoy it. Its chiefe sustenance is that which is most used throughout the world, to wit, wheat and rice ; some Countries making most use of the one, and some of the other. *China* produceth both in so great plenty, that a *Pico* of each (a *Pico* containes 125 pound of our weight) is commonly worth five Reals, (that is, about halfe a crowne of English mony) and if it cometh to leaven and a halfe tis counted a dearth.

The Northern Provinces use for their proper sustenance Wheate, Barly, and Maiz ; eating Rice but seldom, as we doe in Europe ; leaving it for the Southern Provinces, Which although they have Wheat in great plenty, make use of it with the same moderation, as we doe of Rice, or any other sort of fruit. They have Pulse of diverse kindes, the relife of the poorer sort of people, and the ordinary provinder, in stead of Barly, for the Beasts of Burthen. They use Herbes much, they being the food of the ordinary people, almost all the year throughout ; & the chiefe Inventorie of their Apothecaries shops, for their physick, which is founded only upon Herbes and very safe physsick. Yet they want both Endive and Cardeus, but have in stead thereof others, which we want.

Flesh they have every where plentifully, even in small villages. That which they use most constantly throughout the yeare, is Hogs-flesh. Beete is sold there without any bones, they takē them alwayes ours, first. Venison they have not so plentifull: nor doe they much affect it; although they havethē same which here afford us so much recreation ; as, wild Boares, Stagges, fallow Dears and Hares, but no Conies. Of fowle there is great plenty, they have all ours in great abundance : Partridges of two sorts, one whereof differeth not from ours, but only in their call. The Nightingales, though they are bigger than ours, have the same voice and manner of singing. Other birds there are which we have not here, and are in great esteeme, as well for their beauty to the eye, as for their excellent taste to please the Palat. The birds which we see painted in their workes that come into Europe have, without doubt, for the most part, the resemblance of those there. Art alwates favouring nature, or but little altering from her. They are excellent in bringing up of tame fowle, and have of every sort without number ; Geese they have in so great quantity, that they feed up and downe the fields in huge flocks. That which is reported of their hatching eggs by art, is very certaine, but it is only in the spring time, and then they have no need of the dam.

Wild Beasts, as Tigers and Wolves there are in abundance throughout the kingdome, though they doe not much hurt. There are Elephants alwates to be seen at court, but they are brought from other Countries. For tame creatures they have all ours, as well for burthen (without using Oxen for this, as they are faise to doe throughout all India) as also for tillage of their land, in which they make use of Oxen. In the Southern parts the *Buffalo's* undergoe the chiefe labour. They have store of horses, but without

without mettle, and little worth. Coaches were formerly much in use with them, and growing out of fashion there, we tooke them up, being first used, in Italy and Spain, in the yeare 1546. Since they have only used Chaires and Sedans, finding them of lesse pompe and expence, and of greater convenience ; wherefore to this day in all their journeys they serve themselves with litters carried by Mules, or Chaires borne by 4, 6, or 8, men, according to the quality of the persons. Those which they use most in Cities are in forme not unlike unto ours. Those in which the women are carried, are bigger, more convenient, and more beautified ; and also the manner of carrying them is different. In the two Cities of *Pencin* and *Nanckin*, where there is a greater concourse of all sorts of people, they have in all publick places a good quantity of Horses and Mules, with handsome furniture, and very well fitted with bridles and saddles, standing ready to be hired by such persons, as are desirous, with more ease and lesse expence, to travell up and downe the City upon their occasions.

In the Northern provinces, they have but little fish, (except it be at the Court ; which, for being such, wants nothing.) The reason is, because in those parts there are no many Riyers : yet they cause great store of fish to be brought from the Southern Provinces, (which very much abound therein, taking them on the sea coasts, in lakes, and in pooles in great plenty) dried and accommodated in diverse manners, so much as is sufficient. In the River of *Nanckin* there is every yeare a fishing for the Kings use ; and till that be done, there is a prohibition upon a rigorous penalty for any other person to fish : and the voyage being between five and fourty and threescore daies journey, yet it is brought fresh and sweet, without salting it. Troutes are not therē so much esteemed as with us, but Sturgeon every whit as much ; which, when it is sold at the dearest, doth not exceed five-pence the pound. By which you may perceive the cheapnesse of all other things.

Among fruits, Cherries, and Mulberries have there no esteeme, for their tast is not very good ; they use the greatest part of those fruits we have in Europe : but they are not comparable to ours, neither in quantity nor quality, except it be the Oranges of *Cantone*, which may well be called the *Queens* of Oranges : and are by some esteemed to be, not so much Oranges as *Muscattel* Grapes, disguised in that forme and habit. The Southern provinces have the best fruit of all India, particularly *Cantone*, for they have *Anans*, *Manghas*, *Bananas*, *Giachas*, & *Giambas* ; & above all, there are some fruits proper to them of a particular excellency, such as in *Cantone* are, the *Licis*, (so the *Portughes* call them, but the *Chineses*, Lici.) These on the outside are of an Orange colour, and when they are ripe doe very much beautify the trees they grow on. They are made like chaste nuts, in the forme of an heart : when the shell is pilled of, which is only contiguous to it, the fruit remaines like a pearl in colour, very pleasing to the sight, but more to the taste.

There is likewise a fruit called *Longans*, named by the *Chineses*, *Lumien*, that is, Dragons eye, they are in figure and greatness not much unlike a small nut, but the *Pulp* is very little, and different ; but between

the shell and the stone it is sweet and wholesome: this fruit is found in *Cantone* and *Fokien*.

Throughout the kingdome there are red figges, (a name put upon them by the Portugeses: for in the *Chinse* tongue they are called *Suzu*:) it is a fruit very different from figges in colour, figure and taste; the colour on the outside is red, on the inside like gold; the figure is of the bignesse of an Orange, bigger or lesser; for there is as much diversitie of them, as there is among us of figges. The rinde is very thinne, and is of so extraordinary good taste, that in my opinion it may be reckoned among the chiefeſt in the world. They have one or two seeds, which are like unto blanched Almonds: the best are in the cold Countries. The provinces *Honan*, *Xianſi*, *Xenſi*, and *Xantum* enjoy the beſt in quality, and in great quantity; and dry enough of them to ſerve the whole kingdome. When they are dry, they are better than our dried figges, to which they have ſome kind of reſemblance.

The province of *Hamcheu* produceth a particular fruit, which they call *Jammoi*, as bigge as a plumbe, round, and in colour and taste like unto the beſt *Mulberries*: but the tree is very diſſerent.

Peaches there are none, unleſſe it be in the Province of *Xenſi*, where there are ſome of a notable bignesse: ſome are red both within and without; others of a yellow colour, of the fame figure and taste with ours.

There are Melons every where in great abundance: but the beſt are not to be compared to our good ones: there are water melons in great plenty and very good.

Grapes are very rare and ſcarce, and grow only in Arbourſ, and cloſe walkes, except it be in the Province of *Xenſi*, where they are in abundance, and where they alſo dry them in great plenty. They make not their wine of Grapes, but of Barly, and in the Northern parts, of Rice; where they alſo make it of Apples, but in the Southern parts of Rice only; yet this is not ordinary Rice, but a certaine kind of it proper to them, which ſerveth only to make this liquor, being uſed in diſterve manners.

Vineger they make of the ſame ingredients as their wine; and, in the Weſteſ Provinces, of *Millet*; which notwithstanding is ſharp and well tasted.

The wine uſed by the common people, although it will make them drunke, is not very ſtrong nor laſting, tis made at all times of the yeare: but the beſt only in the winter: It hath a colour very pleaſing to the ſight; nor is the ſmell leſle pleaſing to the ſent; or the ſavour thereof, to the taſte: take altogether, it is a vehement occaſion, that there never want drunkeſ; but without any muſt of shame; for they have not yet placed it in that conſideration. Winter and Summer they drink it warm.

Flowers are in ſingular eſteeme with theſe people, and they have ſome exceeding beautille and diſſerent from ours; which (yet) they doe not want. They have Clove-gilleflowres, which have no ſmell at all. They endeavour to have, the yeare throughout, flowers for every ſeaſon in their gardens, in which they are very curioſ. They have ſome flowres, which in their duration exceed the ordinary ſtyle of nature; in which they ſeeme to be exempt from their common tribute of a ſhort life. For when theſe plants

plants haue no moysture left for the nouriſhment of their leaves, and ex- poſed to the cold, theſe do fall off, then do new flowres ſprout againe, & thoſe the moſt odoriferous, during the greateſt inclemency of the froſt and ſnow. Theſe are called *Lamui*, more pleaſing to the ſent than the eye; their colour being not unlike that of Bees-wax. They haue other flowers like Lillies, called *Tiaobou*, which they keep in the house, because that being carefully taken up with their roots entire and well cleaſed from earth, they live and flouriſh in the ayre.

Their Garments, as also the furniture of their chambers and houses, they make of wooll, Linnen, Silke and Cotton, which they make great uſe of and weave thereof many faire and curioſ ſtuſſes.

The riches of that kingdom is admirablie: for beſides that the earth is ſo fruitfull in all kinde of ſuſtenance, and what ever is neceſſary for mans life, as may be perceived by what hath been already ſaid; they do vend unto strangers the beſt and richest merchandife of all the Eaſt; ſuch as are Gold-thread, Gold in the leafe and Ingot, Rubies, Saphires, ſmall Pearl, Muſk, raw ſilke; and wrought ſilk quick-silver, Copper, Tin, *Tomnaga*, which is a kind of metall more fine, and as hard as Tin; Vermilion, Salt-nitre, Brimſtone, Sugar, and other things of leſle importance.

Theiſ guilded workeſ for houſhold-ſtuſſe, ornaments and jewells for women, both for neceſſity and curioſtie, are ſufficiently known to the world: nor doth all this iſſue out at one port, but by many in a great and perpetuall commerce. In all this abundant riches of the Country, induſtry of the inhabitants, Arts and means of gaining their living to an ex- ceſſive plenty, they doe not let paſſe any other thing, that can bring them a ny profit; and notwithstanding the ſight of ſo great afluene of noble commodities, they make a profit of their Beefe-bones, Hogges-haires, and of the ſmallesſt ragge, that is thronē into the ſtreets. There reaigneth amonſt them that only pledge & ſuretie of the duraſion of Empires; that is, that the publike is rich, and no particulars. They are not ſo rich there as in *Europe*; nor ſo many which can proprieſly deſerve that name: nor are the poor here ſo many, nor ſo poor, as thoſe there. The people is infinite, nor can they haue a capiſtall, or ſtock, ſufficient for ſo many; or mony to fill ſo many purfes. Hence it comes to paſſe, that the partition among them is ſuch, that much comes to few, a mediocrity to not many, and a little to al- moſt infinite. Their mony is much at one ſtay, which may be perceived by the ſame low price of things, ſalary of ſervants, pay of workmaſhip, and ſtipend of publick Minifters.

So that even to this day, at leaſt in diſterve of theſe countries they live, as they did formerly in *Portugall*; when a *Maravedi*, which is worth a farthing and a half, diuided into ſix blanes, would buy six ſeveral things. So was it alſo in *Caſtile*, not only in ancient times, but even to the raign of *Don John* the firſt, the records of which are ſtill preſerved: but ſuch tem- perance and plenty long ſince are gone out of the world. From hence it is manifeſt, how much that admirable duraſion of the Empire of *China* de- pendeth on obſerving its laws and ancient cuſtomes, without ever ope- ning a gate (that the great ones might ſeeme greater, and the ſmall ones, great) to luxurie in apparel, and exceſſe in diet; which are the irreparable ruine

ruine of Common wealths.

A pound of mutton is worth a penny, a pigeon a farthing and a halfe, the hire of a man-servant for a year, two hundred farthings, and his dyet and lodging. But there is a great difference betwixt some places and others, those of the South, as they have the advantage in commerce, so they exceed the rest in money; and the price of things, which continually rifieth, as we find every day by experience: but even there to this day, the rate is very moderate.

C H A P. 2.

*Of the Provinces in particular, and first
of those of the South.*

This kingdome is divided into two parts, South and North; and both these subdivided into fifteen provinces, as is above-said. To this Southern part belong nine, which are *Cantone, Quamfi, Tunnam, Fukien, Ki-amfi, Suchuen, Utquam, Chekiam, Nankim*, we wil treate of these in this chapter, and of the rest in the next. That we may proceede distinctly, speaking of them in the same order that we have named them.

Cantone is the first, and lyeth in that part of the South, that is properly named *Quantum*. It is in the latitude of twenty three degrees, it is large, rich, and abounding in wheat and rice, of these it produceth each yeare two harvests, though for the most part they are of a severall graine. There is store of suger, copper and tin, materials, which they worke, with great variety, into innumerable sorts of vessels; as also, workes made with *Charam*, an excellent vernish, and with gilding, some whereof are transported into *Europe*.

The Jesuits in this province had two residencies with their Churches and houses, vwhich perished by reason of Several persecutions, as you shall find hereafter.

The people are able Mechanicks, and though of small invention, yet they imitate excellently whatsoever they find invented. To the City called alio *Cantone* (though the proper name thereof bee *Guamchenu*) the *Portugesses* go twice every year with their marchandise. It is distant from *Macao* an hundred and five miles: and *Macao* is distant from the first Islands, and from the greater Cities of that Empire fifty four: The circumference thereof is 15 good miles. The concourse of merchants thither is very great, and therefore it is more peopled than many of the other Cities. The most and best commodities of that Kingdome are brought thither, because it is the most open and free seat of trade in that nation. And to say nothing of the six neighbouring kingdomes, from whence all sorts of merchandise is brought thither, as well by natives as strangers: only that which the *Portugesses* take in for *India*, *Giappone* and *Manila*, cometh one year with another to five thousand three hundred chefts of severall silke stoffes, each cheft including 100 pieces of the most

most substantial silks, as velvet damask and sattin, of the slighter stoffes, as halfe-damasks, painted and single taffities 250 peices of gold 2300 Ingots of 12 ounces weight a peece, of musk, seaven *Pichi*: which is more then 35 *Arrova*'s every *Arrova* weighing 25 pound, of 6 ounces to the pound, besides small pearl, sugar, *Porce llane* dishes, *China* wood, *Rheubarbe*, and severall curious guilded workes, and many other things of lesse importance, it being hard to name them all even in a longer relation.

To this Province belongeth the Island of *Aynan*, where pearls are fished in great plenty. It is sufficiently populous, by one city, it hath Several villages on the North part thereof: toowards the South there lyeth a barbarous people, which admit the *Chinenses* only to traffike and commerce, without submitting to their dominion. It produceth that precious wood of *Aquila* and that sweet wood, which the *Portugesses* call rose-wood, and the natives, *Hoalim*; and other things of lesse importance.

On the North side of *Cantone* the Province of *Quamfi* extendeth it selfe to the latitude of 25 degrees: it enjoyes the same climate without any considerible difference; (so that it hath nothing particular, which is notable,) and is counted the second Province.

Tunnam is the third; and lyeth in the latitude of 24 degrees, and is the furthest distant of any fro.: the Centre of *China*: it is a great countrie, but hath little merchandise, I know not any thing is brought from thence, unlesse it bee that matter, whereof they make the beads for chapplets, which in *Portugall* they call *Alambras*; and in *Castile*, *Amberes*; and are like Amber, they are counted good against the catarre; it is digged out of mines, and sometimes in great pieces: it is redder than our Amber, but not so cleane. In this province is violated that custome of the Kingdome that women do not go to the market to buy or sell, as in other countries of the world.

On the other side of *Cantone* is the fourth Province called *Fukien*, or by another name *Chinchao*, in the latitude of 26 degrees: it is for the greatest part Mountainous, and therefore not so well inhabited. Contrary to the lawes of the Kingdom, the Natives of this Province do go into the countries of the neighbouring strangers, which are upon the sea-coasts, It yelldeth gold, good sugar in great quantitie, good Canvas-cloth, for other linen there is none in *China*. There is made excellent paper of diverse kindes, which for plenty, goodnesse, and cheapnesse, is very remarkable. They make use of printing no lesse conveniently, and (as it appeareth) more anciently, than in *Europe*, although not in the very same manner: for here, after the printing of each sheet, the letters are taken asunder: there they carve what they would print upon boards or plate, so that the bookees are still prevered entire in their work-houses, and therefore as often as there is occasion, they can reprint any book, without the expence of new setting the letters. This country is situated upon the Sea-side, and is another eminent port, from whence are issued out of that Kingdome, infinite Merchandise, which are carried by the people of this country, that are industrious, and brought up to it, to *Manila*, *Giappone*, and particulary to the Island *Formosa*, which is even in the sight of the land, (for with a good

a good wind it is not above 24 hours voyage thither) where they trade with the *Hollanders*.

There are two houses and Churches there belonging to our company; under whose Government and direction are a great number of very good Christians; who have about ten Churches belonging to them, the which are visited by us very diligently at set times. Two of their chiefe Churches are in the City of *Fuchew* which is their Metropolis: another in the City of *Ciumchu*, the rest in other Cities. There are (besides) many particular Oratories.

The Island *Formosa* lyeth in the Latitude of 22 degrees, it is situated between the Kingdome of *China* and *Giappone*: before you come thither you must passe by a great number of Islands named *Liques*: the length of this Island is 150 miles, the breadth 75.

The *Hollanders* have there a fort placed in a sandy vale, under which lyeth the Port, which is encompassed with bankes of sand, and if it were not distinguished and secured by certaine posts set up in the water, the entrance would be very difficult even to those of the Country. On the other side of the Island toward the East, the *Spaniards* have a fort, distant from that of the *Hollanders* 90 miles by sea, and by land 45, as is reported. The soyle of the Island is so fruitfull, that it produceth grasse nine or ten palmes high (a palme is nine inches, English measure) where the *Hollanders* feed their catell. There is so great abundance of Stagges, that it seemeth incredible to him that hath not seen it. Father *Albertus Miceschi*, (who lived there in the condition of a slave) relateth, that, riding to the next woods with leave from the Governour, to gather some medicinal hearbes, he saw by the way so great a multitude of Stagges, that he judged them to be the herds belonging to the people of the Country, dispersed up and downe the fields, till coming neerer he found with his eyes the contrary. There are also many of those Animals called *Alces* or *Elkes*, the which, I did hitherto beleive, were only to be found in *Lituania* and the adjacent Countries. There are also many other Animals wholly differing from ours, and altogether strange to us. It is the likeliest Country to *Europe* of all *India*: it enjoyeth an healthfull ayre, and cold, like ours. It produceth some splices, but not in great plenty; as Pepper in the woods, and Cynamon on the mountaines, & *Camphire* trees of a notable bignesse, *China* roots, and *Salsapariglia*, in great quantitie. There are also gold mines, but the *Hollanders* have not yet open'd them.

The people of the Country weare no manner of cloathes; nevertheless both men and women doe cover that, which in all the *India*'s useth to be hidden from sight, by the instinct of nature. They dwell in round houses made with Bulrushes of severall colours, beautifull to behold a faire off. Their ordinary food is Stagges flesh as fat as porke; and Rice; of which also they make very strong wine. Many of them doe turne Protestants by the perswasion of the *Holland* Ministers, and live vertuously. They are tall and active of body, so fleet in running that they are able to singe out, and run downe a Stagge in their hunting. Their Lords doe weare a Crowne of dead mens skulls, stitched together and embellished with silke: and these are the heads of their enemies killed by themselves.

Their

Their King weareth two wings of various feathers upon his head: others crowne themselves with apples of gold, others make themselves hornes of a certaine straw, made up with *Bufolo*'s haire. They gird themselves also about with a girdle of young Bulrushes curiously woven. They carry hanging at their breast two Tortoises and a wooden mallet, which serve them in stead of a drum. There is likewise another Island neere to it, inhabited by fierce savage people, who kill, whosoever goeth thither. The above-named father *Miceschi* saw one of them taken by the *Hollanders*, who was fifteen palmes high, as it seemed to him.

The fift place we will give to the Province of *Kiamsi*, which is contiguous to that of *Cantone* toward the North, in the latitude of 29 degrees. It takes its beginning from a great ridge of mountaines, which rearre themselves upon the confines of *Cantone*, from these Mountaines two Rivers have their originall, one, which runneth toward the South, and is presently navigable; the other towards the North, which after it bath warred a good part of this Province receiveth into his channell another large River of the Province of *Huquam*, and then runneth forward with the name of the famous *Nankim*. The skirts of these Mountaines are considerable for the good Cities that are situatid thereon; very convenient for the passage of travailers, and for the conduct of Merchandise; which for the most part passe upon the backs of men and boyes, according to the abilities of each, learning this trade from their youth, which is the most usuall imployment of that Country. The voyage is but of one whole day, and it is very much to see what passeth by in it. For there being no other bridge, and these Rivers being the most frequented passes of all *China*, 'tis almost incredible, how great a concourse of people there is, and what a multitude of commodities, which goe and come without intermission. The Merchandise is all put in one store-house, and is received by weight into another with so much fidelite, that it is not necessary the owner should be present, because upon all accidents the Hostes are bound to make good whatsoever is wanting. They are obliged alſo to give to every guest of qualitie, or Merchant two banquets, or one at leaſt, as alſo to their ſervants; and if they be not ſatisfied therewith, they tell them of it, expouſtulate, and threaten not to frequent any more their Inne, there not wanting many others.

By this Government they make their covetous Hostes very sumptuous and bountifull. The Hostes are alſo obliged, as loone, as their guests are embarked, (for if they goe by land this privilege ceaseth) to ſend them a preſent of two things, or of one at leaſt, as fruit, two fishes, a little flesh, a couple of pullets, and this without payng, either at your entrance, abode, or departure; for there is nothing to be payd, either for the lodging or bedſtead, I ſay bedſtead, because the Hoſte allowes you no bed but every one carrieth one with him at his backe, when he hath no other conuenience; but they are not ſo big as our beds, but much lighter. The profit of the Hoſte confiſteth in fo much *per cent*, which is payd them by the Boateman for ſuch persons, or goods as are carried by water; and by the porters for ſuch as paſſe by land; and as the concourſe is great, the profit cannot be little. Every thing paſſeth through the hands of Insurers, that

that if any thing be wanting, they supply it and make it up.

In the Custome-house (for there is a very famous one here) there is not so much honour done the Merchant, but more favour. There is no house where the Merchandise is deposited, weighed or visited; neither is it taken out of the barke; but only a moderate rate is payed for it by the eye, and according to the Merchants booke of accounts. If the passenger be no Merchant, although he goe alone in a Barke with his servants, and carry five or six chests, and severall other things, which are usuall transported from one Country to another, they are not searched nor opened, neither doe they pay any custome. A good example for the Custome and Gabell-houles of Europe, where a poore traveller is so beastly and barbarously, robbed and spoiled; when all he carrieth with him is not worth so much as they ask him for custome.

For strangers ships, which come into the Port of Macao, as soone as any arriveth, they unlade their Merchandise as they please, without any hindrance; and when the customers come, they pay them according to the content of the vessel, without making any enquiry into the qualitie of the Cargazon.

But to retурne to the Province of Kiamſi, (of which we were discouſing,) it particularly aboundeth in Rice and fish, but most of all in people. So that the Chineſſes call them Lauchu, that is to ſay, Rats. Whereof, we have a reſemblance in Portugall, in the Country that lyeth between the Rivers Dueru and Migno; which, where it confineth upon Gallitia hath fo great multitude of people, that it is therefore called by the ſame name; althoſh learned men doe derive it from Rates, an ancient part of that Country.

Now this people running over the whole kingdom, like ſwarms of Bees, do fill it with ſeveral Trades whereunto they apply themſelves, and for the greatest part they lead a miserable life, and are therefore ſo penurious, niggardly, and drie in their preſents, that they paſſe, in ridiculous proverbes, through the reſt of the Provinces.

It is famous for Sturgeon, which it hath of very great bignesse; and more for the Porcellane dishes (indeed the only work in the world of this kinde) which are made only in one of its Townes: So that all that is uſed in the Kingdom, and diſperſed through the whole world, are brought from this place: althoſh the earth, whereof they are made commeth from another place: but there only is the water, wherewith preſcely they are to be wrought to come to their perfection, for if they be wrought with other water the worke will not haue ſo much gloſſe and luſtre. In this worke there are not thoſe myſteries that are reported of it here, neither in the matter, the form, nor the manner of working, they are made abſolutely of earth, but of a neate and excellent quality. They are made in the ſame time, and the ſame manner, as our earthen vefſels; only they make them with more diligence and accuratenesse. The Blew, wherewith they paint the Porcellane, is Anill, whereof they haue abundance, ſome do paint them with Vermilion, and (for the King) with yellow.

This Province, and that of Chincheo and Cantone, which border one upon

upon another, do unite, as it were, in an angle, with many Mountaines between them: In the middle of which Mountaines there is a ſmall Kingdome, which hath a particular King of its own without any ſubjection to the Chineſſes, from whom he doth defend himſelfe, if they pretend to auault him; nor is the defence difficult, there being but one entrance into that kingdome. They admit of the Chineſſe Physitians in their infirmities, but not of their learned men into the administration of their government. If they haue an ill Harveſt, and that there is like to be a ſcarſity they go out, and rob in a military order, to the ſound of the drum. So in the year 1632 they gave no ſmall trouble to this province of Kiamſi.

The laſt account ſhall be concerning the Christianity there, which hath proſpered very well, being alſo beneſiced with two Churches and houles which we haue in that Province, the one in the City of Nauchan, which is the Metropolis; The other in the City of Nauburum.

The fix Province is called Sachuen, in the ſame parallel with that of Kiamſi, and in the ſame latitude of 29 degrees, nor hath it any thing in particular differing from the former, worthy the relation.

The Province of Huquam is the ſeventh in Scituatiōn, it lyeth more to the North, in the height of 31 degrees, exceeds the whole Kingdom for the abundance of Rice. The Chineſſes ſay, that that whole Kingdom is able to give but a breakfast in reſpect of Huquam, which provideth for the whole yeaſe. It hath ſtore of oyle, and no leſſe Fish, by reaſon of the rivers, which it enjoyeth, and the lakes, which ſeem rather Seas. In the Metropolis of this Province there was a Reſidencie begun at the time of my arrival.

The province of Cakiam, which is the eighth, lyeth in the Latitude of 30 degrees: it is for the moſt part ſituatiōn by the Seaſide, fertile, plain, and almoſt all diuided by fevall rivers, ſome whereof run through their Cities and Townes. In riches it exceeds many of the Provinces, as being the Fountain, from whence the beſt Commodities of that Monarchie doe flow: it is ſingular in filke, which it diſtributeth through every part, whether it be raw, or wrought, in Balls or in Stuffe. All that goeth out of the Kingdome any way, concometh from this Province: though all China hath the benefit of the Silk worme, yet all the reſt would not ſerve them, to make them Scarfes: the name of the Metropolis is Hamches. Here we haue two houles, which upon certain good conſiderations are reduced to one, where there is culivated a copious and good Christianity, and alſo much honoured, by reaſon of the number of people of quality that are in it,

Finally, this Province is famous for many things, but particularly for three. The firſt is a lake called Sihu, which is one of the rareſt in the world. It is in circuite Thirty Llis, which are ſix miles: it is ſet about with excellent Palaces, and theſe environed by pleauant Mountaines cloathed with graſſe, plants, and trees: the water is alwayes running, for there comming in a current at one ſide, & iſſuing out at the other; it is fo cleare, that it inviteth one to behold it with great delight, the ſmalleſt ſand, that lyeth at the bottome, being to be diſcovered. There are cer-

taine wayes paved with stone, that do crosse over it, offering passage to those that travell over it; either upon their occasions or curiositie: there stand ready small Barkes of a considerable burden which are made for recreation and banquets; the kit chin is in the steerage, or the forecastle, and the middle space serveth for a hall. Above higher, there is a place for the women, covered with lattices, that they might not be seen. These Barkes are painted and gilded after a curious and various manner, and are provided in great abundance with all things necessary for the navigation which is short and free from wracks of water, but not so wel from those of wine; there happening many: as also shipwrackes of estates very often; there being scarce any in the whole kingdome that hath any thing, that doth not come to spend in these delights, either part or the whole; and sometimes more than his whole stock is worth.

The second is, the excellency of the silke, as well for the plenty abovesaid, as for the curiositie of the Art, with which a good part of it is wrought, engrayling it with precious and beautifull workes of gold. This is only after their manner and gusto; and is not sent out of the kingdome, but as a singular worke is reserved for the Kings Palaces, who every year buyeth up all that is made of this sort.

The third is, the worshipping of their Idols; in which is particularly to be perceived whence the fabrick of their Temples proceeds, which are without doubt very famous.

The last of these nine Southerly Provinces is *Nankim*, scituated in 32 degrees of latitude, and is one of the best Provinces of the kingdome, and the perfection of the whole realm. It sendeth abroade its commodities, or workes of importance, to no part; as if they were unworthy, to participate of its perfection; which is most rare in all sort of varietie, and so much exceeding all the rest, that every one, to sell his commodities the better, pretendeth, that they are of *Nankim*, and so passe them off, at a greater price.

That part which is towards the West, is the most rich, and maketh so much Cotton-wool, that those of the Country affirme, that there is only in the towne of *Xanuchi* and the precinct thereof, which is large, 200000 Loomes for this stiffe; so that from that place only the King draweth 150000 crownes yearly.

In one house there useth to be many of them for they are narrow, as the stiffe is. Almost all the women are employed in this work.

The Court did reside in this Province for a long time; and even to this day all the Courts of justice and priviledges thereof are conserved in the City of *Nankim*, whose right name is *Umthienfu*; and it seemeth to me to be the best and greatest City of the whole Kingdome, both for the form of the building, the largenesse of the streets, the manners and dealing of the people, and for the plentie and excellency of all things.

It hath admirable places of recreation, and is so populous through its confines, that the villages succeed one another, in a manner, from three miles to three miles; although at this day, by reason it wants the presence of the King it is, in its selfe lesse populous; nevertheless in diverse parts thereof it is yet troublesome to walke the streets for the crowde of people that

that one inceteth. Besides, the many Palaces, Temples, Towers, and Bridges doe render it very considerable. In the wall thereof there are twelve gates, bar'd with Iron, and guarded with Artillery: a good way without runneth another wall with no small ruines. The circuit thereof (for I was desirous to know the measure of it) is two daies journey on horse-back: That of the inner wall is eighteen miles; both the one and the other have within them many populations, gardens, and fields which are tilled, the bread whereof useth to be applied to the use of the souldiery within the City, to the number of forty thousand.

In one part thereof there is cast up an artificiall Mount, on the top whereof there is seen a wooden sphaere, not armed, although the circles thereof are placed at the latitude of the same City, which is 32 degrees; a small latitude in respect of the great colds, but a very large one, for the great heate which it suffereth: The sphaere is in circumference of a notable bignesse, and is a very compleat piece of work.

It hath moreover a Tower divided into seaven stories of singular beauty for the workmanship thereof, it being full of figures, and wrought like *Percellane*: an edifice, which might be ranked among the most famous of ancient *Rome*. The river cometh to kisse the feet of this City, and sendeth up some armes of it selfe into it. The name of the river is *Tanchiam*, that is to say, the Sonne of the sea; nor vainly is it so called, it being the most abundant in water, of any that is knowne in the world. There is also great plenty of fish.

We have fourte Churches in this Province, the first in *Nankim*, with a house of *Jesuites*, and is of a very ancient, and exercised, Christianity: having suffered fourte persecutions, and come of from each of them with more vigour. The second, in the Towne of *Xamhai*, with a great number of beleevers. The third in the City of *Xamkiam*. The fourth in the Towne of *Kiatini*: beside these Churches there are many Oratories. And so much shall suffice concerning the nine Southern Provinces,

CHAP. 3.

Of the Northern Provinces.

Six are the Provinces, which are called Northern, and their names are *Honam*, *Xensi*, *Kiansi*, *Xantum*, *Pekim*, and *Leotum*. The first lyeth in the latitude of 35 degrees, as centre of the Kingdome, and produceth most gallant fruits, as well those that are proper to the Countrey, as ours in *Euroope*; nor is the cheapnesse of them lesse: I bought for a farthing and a halfe 88 Apricocks; it hath nothing else notable, except a Son of the Kings called *Foram*, the last of those which came out of the Palace. He liveth with so great splendour and autoritie of a King, that to be such, he only wanteth the name and jurisdiction. In *Cajsum*, the Metropolis thereof, we have had onely for these few yeares, a Church and house, but a good plenty of Christians.

The second is *Xensi*; it lyeth in 36 degrees, and more, to the West: it

it is verely large, but dry for want of water, as also are the three neighbouring Provinces: notwithstanding it doth abound in Wheate, Barly and Maize, of Rice they have but little. All winter long they give wheat to their Beasts, which are many; particularly their sheep, which they shear three times a year, once in the Spring, another time in the Summer, a third in the Autume, but the first time of shearing yeeldeth the best wool.

From hence cometh all the wool, of which are made the felts and other things used, either in this Province or elsewhere. They make there of no sort of cloath, not using to spin wool, but only Goats-hair, of which they weave certain Stuftes for the hanging of their rooms, in so great perfection that the most ordinary are better than ours, and the Best are esteemed more precious than silk. They make likewise of Goats-haire a very fine Felt, which they call *Tum*, and is made use of for garments: But this is not made of every sort of Goats-hair, but of a very fine hair which lyeth under the first. They pull it out with great care, and make it up in certain balsof the bignesse of an ordinary loafe, and then put it out to be wrought by singular skill.

Musk is proper to this Province; and because it is in question, after what manner this excellent perfume is made; I will give you account of it according to the most diligent enquiry I have made concerning it. It is the Navel of an Animal about the bignesse of a small Stagge, whose flesh is very good meat, and only that part is taken containing that precious matter: but all those Cods, which are brought hither to us, are not true and perfect Navells, for the Chineses have learnt to falsifie them, by stuffing some peices of the skin of that *Animall* with musk, that is vitiated, and mingled, with some other things.

Here is also Gold found, but not in Mines (for though there be Mincs both of Gold and Silver, the King doth not suffer them to be opened) but out of Rivers and Eddies: and although it be found only in small peices and graines, yet being put together, it amounts to a great quantity, there being infinite people both young and old, which go in search of it.

There is *Rubarbe* and *Profumo*, which are not found in any other part, for that which cometh from *Persia* doth not seem to be naturall, to that place; for, of as many as have travelled through that countrie, there is not any that gives an account to have seen there that healthfull plant. It is something tall, with leaves bigger than Cole-worts: it doth not grow wilde, as some have imagined, but is Cultivated in gardens with a great deale of care.

In this Province is opened the third Gate, the which, as I sayd above, is a seafe of much Merchandise: for it hath two Cities in the borders thereof, *Gauchen* and *Suchen* toward the West, (as *Machao* is in the Province of *Camone* toward the South) from whence come numerous Caravans of above a thousand in company, of severall Nations and Provinces, but for the most part Moores, Thus far came Brother *Benedict*. Gies to seek for the Kingdom of *Cahaya*, which is no other than *China* it selfe) whose voyage we will here briefly relate,

He departed in lent, the year 1603 for to find out the truth of what was

was reported of the Kingdome of *Cathaca*, by order of the superiors of *India*, from the Kingdome of *Mogor* and the royal City of *Laur* in the Habit of an *Armenian* carrying Merchandise, as well to live, as to passe with the more facility. The whole *Caravan* consisted of 500 Persons (for the most part Sarafens) and used to go every year from this royall Ci-ty to another in another Kingdom named *Cascar*. After a months voy- age he arrived at a City named *Athu*, of the same province with *Laur*: thence in two months and a half, to *Paffaur*: and after another month and a half, sometimes travelling, and sometimes resting, he came to the City of *Ghideli*, where he wanted little to have been slain by theees. And finally after 20 dayes more he came to the City of *Cabu*, the most noble Merchant-towne of all the countries subjected to the *Mogor*, from hence after some stay, he passed to *Paroám*, the last City of the Kingdom of *Mogor*; then travelling for 20 daies over very high Mountains he came to *Calcia*, a country of faire-haireyd people, and in other 25 dayes to *Chema*, where he was forced to stay a month by reaon of Civill broils; and after many troubles and dangers of theees and *Banditti*, and having passed many countries of the Kings of *Samarhan*, they came into the country of *Ten-go*, and at length he entred into the Metropolitan City of the Kingdom of *Cascar*, called *Tanghesar*, in the month of November, in the same year.

At this City, which is, a noble seafe of Merchandise for those King-domes, the *Caravan* of Merchants which come from *Cabull*, ended their voyage, and a new *Caravan* setteth forth from thence to go to *China*. But our Brother remained here (first) many months, expecting the time of their departure, and having in the meane time made himselfe known to the King of the country, he obtained letters of favour and recommenda-tions, to all places whither he should go.

The time therefore being come, he departed with ten horses, for to carry himself, his companion and his goods in company of the whole *Caravan* toward *Chatuya*, that is *China*, in the moneth of November the year following, and having travelled 25 dayes with a great deale of diffi-cultie, over stones and sand, he came to the City of *Astu*, part of the Kingdom of *Cascar*: after having passed a defart, called *Caracabai*, that is, Black-earth, and gone through many Cities, at length he came to a City called *Cialis* in the same Kingdom of *Cascar*. Here whilest he fitted himself for his journey, there arrived Merchants which came from *China*, of whom Brother *Benedict* learned some tydings of the City of *Pekim*, and of our Fathers, which had been there seen by these Sarafens Mer-chants. So that he was satisfied, that *Cathaya* was nothing else but *Chi-na*; and the royall City, named by the Sarafens *Gambalú*, was *Pekim*. From this City of *Cialis*, *Benedict* departing with a few in company, came in twenty dayes to *Pucian*, and afterwards to *Turphan*, *Aramuth*, and *Camul* the last City of the Kingdome of *Cialis*. From *Camul* after nine dayes journey, they came to the wall of *China*, at a place called *Chiacnon*: and so had entrance into *China*, which he fought under the name of *Cathaya*. Excepting therefore eleven dayes journey, which was through a country peopled by Tartars, all the rest of his voyage was through coun-tries inhabited by Moors, or *Mahumetans*.

Now to return to our story : with these Caravans come Embassadors, which the Princes of the Moors send to the King of China, making every three years a small Embassy, in respect both of the Persons and the presents ; and every five years a great one. The most part of the Caravan remaine in the two above-named Cities ; (which are upon the Frontiers) trafficking there with their Merchandise. The others go to comply with their charge, and to offer the present in the name of five Kings, which are the Kings of *Rume, Arabia, Camul, Eamarcan, Turan* ; The first four know nothing of this Embassy: the fifth, although he know of it, doth not make the present, nor send the Embassy, but hath only this advantage, that he nameth the Embassadors. The present is made by the Merchants among themselves, & these coming to the Vice-roy of those parts, the King hath advice given him of their arrival by a paper, called a *memorial or petition*: as soone as they have leave from the Court, and that their names are inrolled, there depart 40. or 50. of them, besides many more added to them ; who, to have leave to enter into the kingdome to trade, & to eate at the Kings expences, give the captaine a Bribe of about a hundred or six-score crownes a man. There goeth a long with them a *Mandarine*, who entertaineth them of freecost, while they travell : But if they make any stay (as they did in the *Metropolis* of the province, for more than three monthees space) the Kings expence ceaseth, but not the benefit of their traffique, for all that while they follow their Merchandise.

The Merchandise which they bring, are Salt-*Armoniak*, fine Azure, fine linnen, carpets, called Raisins, knives, and other small things. The best and greatest Commodity is a certain stone, called *Taca*, which they bring from the Kingdom of *Tauken*; the worst is of a whitish colour, the finest is green, it hath been of great price formerly in *China*, and is still of good value. They make thereof diverse sorts of Jewels for the ornament of the head, and it is much used in the palaces: the girdle, which the King giveth to the *Colai* is embrodered with the finest sort therof, which no other is allowed to use in this ornament. That which they carry back in exchange of their commodities is *Porcellane*, *Rubies*, Musk, raw-silk, silk-stuffes, diverse other rarities and medicinall drugges, as *Rubarb*. And this I do imagine is the same which is transported from *Persia* to these parts.

The Embassadors being arrived, they offer their present, which consisteth of a thousand *Arrabas* of this precious stone (whereof we have spoken) which maketh 1333. Italian pounds, whereof 300. pounds are of the first sort, 340. horses, which are to be left upon the frontier, 300. small pointed Diamonds, twelve *Cattes* of fine Azure, which is about 100. Italian pounds, 600. knives, & as many files. The last present seeming to me improper to be presented to a King, I enquir'd whatule the King made of them, but I could not meet any one wasable to inform : only a Captain told me, that it was a very ancient thing for that present to be composed of such things, with so much infallibility they durst not make any alteration. Of the rest of the commodities which they bring, if the King desirith any thing, he fendereth to see and buy it. At their return the King rewardeth them with two pieces of cloth of gold for each horse ; 30. pieces of yellow silk, 30. pound of *Chá*, ten of Musk, 50. of a medicine called *Tienyp*, and

and as many of Silver. These *Saracens* told me, that the present, which they gave the King, was not in their country worth above 7000 Crownes, but what was given them by the King for their Embassy and voyage, was noe lesse worth then 5000 Crownes : a pretty good gayne, but ordinary from those Princes.

From this Province goeth another Caravan for the powerful Kingdom of *Tibet*; which carryeth diverse things, in particular, *Silk-stuffes, Porcellane* See a larger dict. and *Chá*, *Chá* is a leafe of a tree, about the bignesse of *Mirtle*, in other course of the Provinces, of the hearbe *Bafil*, and in others, of the small *Pomgranat*. this testyng ordering of They dry it over the fire in iron-sives, where it hardens and sticketh together. There is of many sorts of it, as well because the plant is various, as the vertues of the also that the upper leaves do exceed the other in finenesse, a property al- most of all plants. There is of it, from a Crown a pound to four far-^{See a larger dict.} milions of Alexander d. Rhodes printed at Paris 1653. 1 part. 13 cap. 1. its called also Tay.

things according to the quality of it, there being so many differences thereof. It being thus dried and cast into warme water, iugiveth it a colour, smell and tast, at the first unpleasing, but custome makes it more acceptable.

Tis much used in *China* and *Giappone*, for it serveth not only

for ordinary drink in stead of water, but also for entertainment to strangers when they visit them, as wine doth in the Northern parts, it being throughout all those kingdoms esteemed a wretched niggardliness to give only good words to those that come to their house, although they be strangers : at least they must have *Chá*; and if the visit be any thing long, there must be added some fruit or sweet-meates : sometimes they lay the cloath for this, and when not, they set it in two dishes upon a little square table.

Many vertues are related of this leaf: certain it is, that it is

very wholesome, and that, neither in *China* nor *Giappone*, there is any

troubled with the stone; nor is so much as the name of this disease known:

from whence may be inferred, how great a preservative against this evill

the use of this drink is: it is also certain, that it powerfully delivereth

from the oppression of sleep, whosoever desirith to watch, either for ne-

cessarie or pleasure; for by supressing the fumes it easeth the head without

any inconvenience: and finally it is a known and admirable help for stu-

dents. For the rest I have not so great an assurance of it that I dare affirm it.

There is found also in this Province a most evident signe of the ancient Christianitie, which hath been there, as we shall relate in its order.

In the great Metropolis thereof we have a Church and a houfe, with a well founded and fruitfull Christianity ; by whom also many particular Oratories are frequented.

Rianfi is the third of these six Northern Provinces, which we are now discoursing of : It lyeth in the Latitude of thirty eight degrees ; it hath many mountaines, which makes their Harvest but poore : there is little wheate, lesse Rice, but most Maiz : it is so abundant in grapes, that it ferveth the whole Kingdome with Raisins, and might furnish, at least it selfe, with wine ; as it succeeds in a Residence, which we have there, where we make now only enough for to serve the *Maffes*, but send also sufficient to the next Residencies. It hath wells of fire for the use of their houses as we have of water in *Europe*, they seeme to be Mines of Sulphur set on fire ; so that opening a little the mouth of the well, which must not